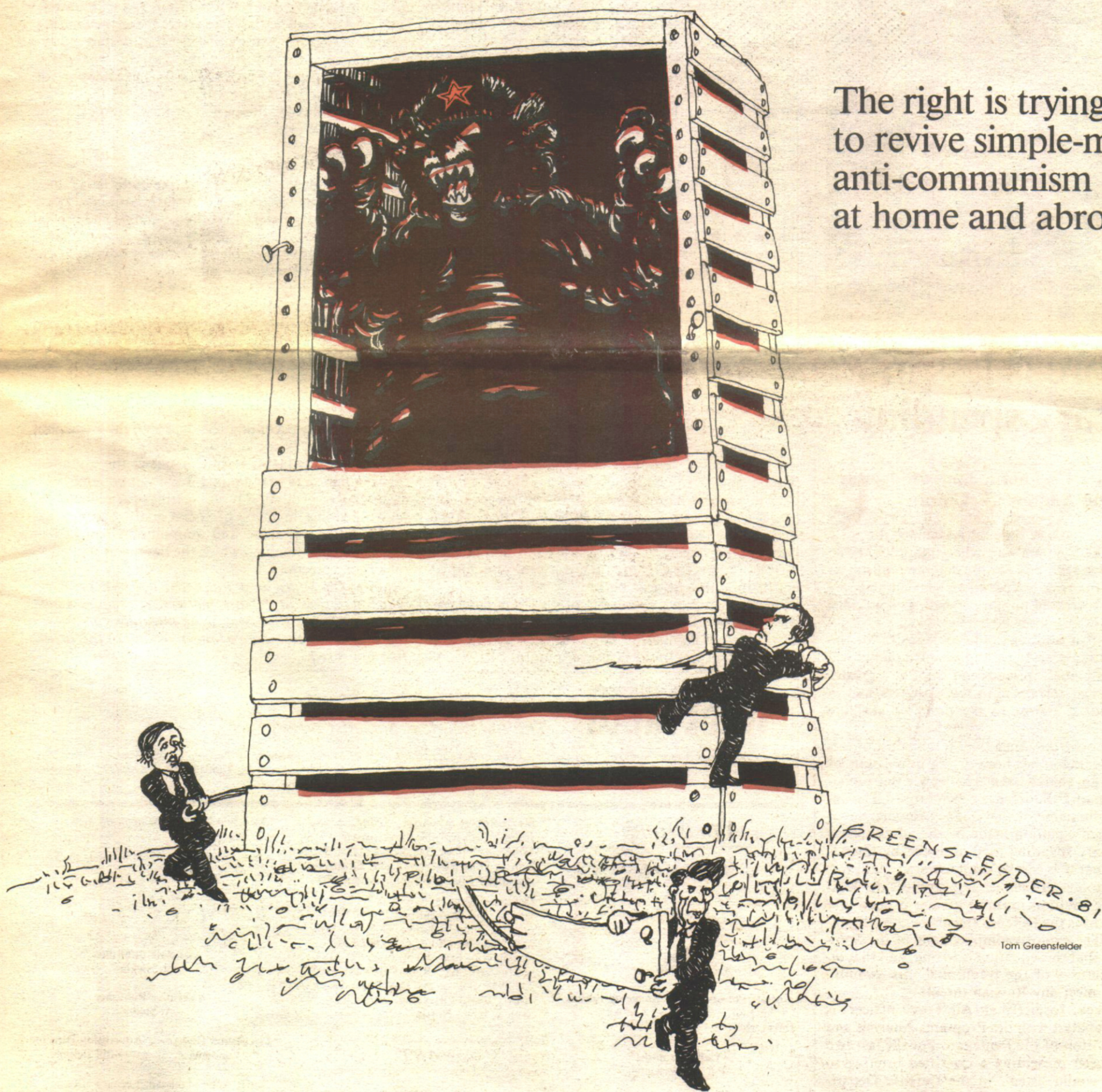




## The Return of the Red Menace

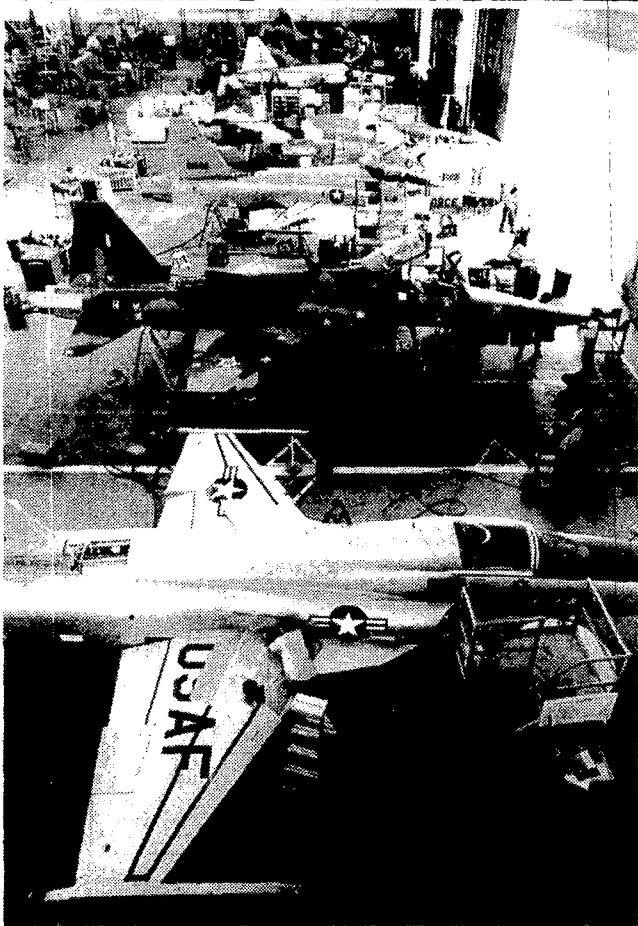


The right is trying  
to revive simple-minded  
anti-communism  
at home and abroad.

## A Woman's Home is her Factory Page 8



# THE INSIDE STORY



## More is less in military spending

By Alexander Cockburn, James Ridgeway and Andrew Cockburn

It is hard to recall any time, at least since the early boom days of the Vietnam war, when things looked so good for the Pentagon and for the defense industry as they do today. In office is a president who campaigned on the issue of increased military spending. And since inauguration, the promises have redoubled.

On the face of it nothing could look rosier for the hawks. The nation's arsenals and defense plants will spew forth new planes, missiles and ships at a greater rate, with political resistance in the Congress and in the country muted almost to the point of absolute silence.

It is all the more ironic then that in the midst of this euphoria the Pentagon has been driven into a state of near panic by an analysis that challenges the fundamental theorem of U.S. defense expenditures. The analysis goes by the name of the Spinney Report.

The traditional equation made by the advocates of increased military spending (and accepted by liberals and doves) is that if it can be demonstrated that present American forces are inadequate to meet the Russian threat, the solution must be greater expenditure on the kind of arms the Defense Department traditionally procures. The explosive implications of the Spinney Report are that this equation is wrong, and that increased expenditures of the traditional sort *diminish* U.S. ability to meet any Russian threat.

Chuck Spinney, formerly an Air Force officer, is now a civilian analyst with the Programs Analysis and Evaluation Division of the Pentagon. For the last two years he has been presenting a classified briefing to "anyone who would listen" in the Defense Department entitled "Defense Facts of Life." He says in the introduction to his report that his "experience has been that it [the briefing] is contentious and often evokes strong emotions."

### Nunn's role.

In the past, these "strong emotions" were evoked only in the bosoms of those with high security clearances—the people allowed to hear Spinney. But emotions in the Pentagon have got considerably stronger, for now

the report has at last reached a wider and extremely menacing audience.

Last December, Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia—who could never, by any stretch of the imagination, be called a dove—invited Spinney to give his briefing to Armed Services Committee senators informally gathered in Nunn's office. The Air Force had agreed to Spinney's appearance before the senators only with the greatest reluctance. What the Air Force did not know was that Nunn had arranged to tape record the proceedings.

Nunn listened to the briefing with growing interest and concern. Soon he was insisting that it be declassified (with certain excisions) and released. On Jan. 28 another blow befell the Defense Department. In the middle of a humdrum Armed Services Committee hearing attended by newly-appointed Defense Secretary Weinberger and Head of the Joint Chiefs David Jones, Nunn gave an impassioned 10-minute summary of the report and said that it was imperative that Weinberger read it at once. Weinberger's staff sent for it that same afternoon. After a desperate last-ditch effort by the Air Force to keep the report under wraps despite Nunn's request, it was released on Feb. 2.

### The meaning of Spinney.

The quickest way to understand the dread evoked in the Pentagon by Spinney is to quote his bottom line: "Our strategy of pursuing ever-increasing technical complexity and sophistication has made high-technology solutions and combat readiness mutually exclusive." That is, the more money the U.S. presently spends on defense, the less able it is to fight.

The reason the Air Force was particularly keen to keep the report secret is that Spinney uses its budget as the prime illustration of his thesis.

Discounting inflation, the defense budget overall has remained constant in the long term since the Korean war. But there is one area of the defense budget that has seen real increases. The Tactical Air portion of the Air Force's budget has had an average annual increase of 10.4 percent, after inflation, since 1973. Spinney convincingly shows that the effects of this largess have been disastrous.

In the Tactical Air sector are to be found fighters and fighter bombers such as the F-15, F-16, the F-111 and the A-10. These are immensely complicated and immensely expensive pieces of machinery. The theory behind their procurement is that the expense was justified by equally immense capability.

The reality has been less impressive. The F-15, Spinney reports, is "non-mission capable" 44 percent of the time. This problem is compounded by the maintenance system specially developed for the F-15. The plane's electronics—the most delicate part—are so designed that individual parts can be removed and replaced, with the defective item being sent back to the depot for servicing. To identify the defective part the maintenance crews require an extremely expensive and very complicated computer called an Avionics Intermediate Shop. The rationale of the "Shop" is that flight line maintenance is simplified and speeded up.

So it can be seen that the readiness of the F-15 depends on the readiness of the computer. But alas, the Avionics Intermediate Shop was itself "non-mission capable" 20 percent of the time last year and 50 percent of the time the year before.

Furthermore, the operation of this computer requires highly skilled personnel, whose Air Force pay is only a third of equivalent scales for such personnel in the civilian sector. In the last three months of 1980, 33

of these computer operators were eligible for re-enlistment. Not one remained in the Air Force.

Just to round out the picture, Spinney explains that if and when the AIS computer is out of action, an F-15 squadron has no maintenance, since normal war-reserve kits of spare parts have not been preserved under the new system.

These penalties of expense and complexity might be justified by combat results, but here too the facts indicate otherwise. In the Korean war the relatively simple F-86 fighter shot down 10 MIG-15s for every lost F-86. In the Vietnam war, the infinitely more complex F-4 Phantom, which had the ability to fight in bad weather and beyond visual range, could achieve only a two-to-one margin over the MIG-21, which had none of these presumed assets.

Despite such evidence, the Pentagon planners have continued to pursue expensive complexity, even though this inevitably means that they have fewer planes. Because they have fewer planes, they have devised another complicated apparatus in order to deploy their diminished arsenal at critical points. As Spinney puts it, "To do this, it is necessary to collect vast quantities of sensor data, analyze it, uncover an enemy-activity pattern and synthesize that pattern into an appreciation of enemy intentions that can be quickly digested by the human mind.... A fundamental requirement is a survivable communications system. Such a system currently does not exist."

The argument so far: more money has produced fewer but more complex planes that do not work much of the time. Deployment of fewer planes means a more elaborate and delicate communications system that is not likely to survive in war conditions. At its bluntest, Tactical Air's policies have no relevance to the realities of combat, as is shown by the fact that despite "non-mission capable" statistics, the current war plans presume that the Air Force would fly more missions in Europe in the first months of any conflict than were flown in June 1944, the period of maximum effort in the whole of World War II.

### The perils of materialism.

Napoleon said, "The moral is to the material as three to one." Spinney is arguing that the U.S. military, addicted to costly material, entirely ignores the crucial factors in war: morale, esprit de corps, training, leadership and other intangibles. He quotes numerous examples of the penalties of such addiction: the French in 1940 had more technologically advanced tanks than the Germans, as well as the highly sophisticated Maginot Line. The results are well known. Or, to take another example, Hitler's desperate faith in miracle weapons such as the complex, costly and useless V-2 rockets in the last stages of the war.

Spinney, as Nunn well understood, has attacked the very foundations of Pentagon policy by saying starkly that the U.S. is becoming less able to fight a war, but that the reason is not lack of money.

From the Pentagon's point of view, the argument that the nation is spending its way to impotence is far more dangerous than dovish bleatings for reduced defense spending in favor of social goals. Spinney has provided the rationale and ammunition for austere hawkishness, a flank on which the Pentagon is intellectually unprotected.

*Andrew Cockburn is a journalist and TV producer who specializes in defense matters. Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway write a regular column for the Village Voice, where a longer version of this article first appeared.*

## IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, third week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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This issue (Vol. 5, No. 16) published March 11, 1981, for newsstand sales March 11-17, 1981.



# The red scare takes an encore

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

**O**N FEB. 18, TWO EVENTS TOOK place that may bode ill for civil liberties at home and human rights abroad. In the Senate Judiciary Committee chambers, formerly presided over by Senator Edward Kennedy, Alabama Senator Josiah Denton, a former P.O.W. in North Vietnam who was elected last fall with strong Moral Majority backing, gavelled into session the newly formed Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism.

At the State Department, several miles west, acting spokesman William Dyess announced that the Reagan administration was revoking the November 1979 economic sanctions against Chile and resuming annual joint naval maneuvers with that country. The sanctions had been invoked when the Chilean government refused to extradite three Chilean intelligence officers indicted here for the assassination of Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier and his associate Ronni Moffitt.

The creation of the subcommittee repudiates the post-Watergate emphasis on civil liberties that culminated in the abolition of the Subversive Activities Control Board, the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, the House and Senate internal security committees and the CIA's domestic counterintelligence operation and also prompt-

• Lobbyists for anti-Communist dictatorships, centered in such organizations as the American-Chilean Council and the Council for Inter-American Security.

• Conservative and neo-conservative intellectuals, journalists and policy-makers centered in the Heritage Foundation, Georgetown's Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and the Hoover Institution.

This network shares certain political preoccupations: a rejection of detente, as defined by either the Nixon administration's Henry Kissinger or Jimmy Carter, support for anti-Communist dictatorships as the only viable alternative to Communist revolution, the rejection of the recent curbs on the CIA and FBI, and support for new internal security investigations.

But its members do not simply share some common concerns. Their activities are deeply intertwined. For instance, association with the CIA and support for the CIA's covert-action wing cuts across the different groups. Both William Buckley and his sister Priscilla are former CIA employees; the director of the Georgetown center, Ray Cline, is a former CIA deputy director; novelist-journalist Rob-



Sen. Orrin Hatch is also on the board of the Council on Inter-American Security.

lishes *West Watch*, edited by noted witch-hunter Phillip Abbot Luce, which monitors support for the Latin American and Caribbean left among American leftists and liberals. One recent issue purported to expose the Institute for Policy Studies (whose Transnational In-

stitute Letelier directed) as a "KGB 'black propaganda' agency."

The recently-formed National Committee to Restore Internal Security (NCRIS) operated out of the same offices as CIS and shared its membership not only with CIS, but also with the American-Chilean Council, NCRIS chairman Robert Morris, former chief counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and NCRIS members such as Murray Baron, the president of Accuracy in Media, and Hon. John Davis Lodge, former U.S. ambassador to Franco's Spain, were also founders of the American-Chilean Council.

## The Heritage report.

The Committee's efforts were supplemented by the publication of the Heritage Foundation's 1,093-page blueprint for the Reagan administration, *Mandate for Change*.

The Heritage report warns against organizations and individuals capable of "subverting and destabilizing social and political processes...and of covertly influencing the policies of the United States in ways contrary to the desires and best interests of the nation but beneficial to hostile foreign powers to which internal extremists may be sympathetic or allied." Among the potential "internal security problems" the report includes not only the usual Communist parties, but also IPS, Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) and "some anti-defense and anti-nuclear lobbies."

One of the report's authors, who declined to be identified by name, demonstrated a close knowledge of intraleft affairs when asked whether Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) would qualify for surveillance. "There's no indication that they have any desire to use violence," he replied, "but they are stretching their arms to the left and attracting a Stalinoid element." Asked to be more specific, he gave a history of the DSOC-New American Movement merger negotiations, warning that some of the NAM members were "enamored with Cuba."

The Heritage report recommends new congressional committees and the removal of restrictions on the FBI's surveillance of subversive organizations, which the Levi guidelines limited to organizations demonstrably preparing for criminal violence. "It is axiomatic," the report concludes, "that individual liberties are secondary to the requirements of internal security and internal civil order."

## Administration.

With Reagan's victory, the internal security/dictator lobby came to have broad in-

*Continued on next page*

## A single network of cold warriors is promoting aid to dictators abroad and "internal security" at home.



Members of Congress like Jack Kemp front the dictator/internal security lobby.

ed substantial reform under Attorney General Edward Levi's guidelines of FBI surveillance practices.

The revocation of the sanctions against Chile repudiates the post-Vietnam emphasis in both Congress and the Carter administration on human rights in American diplomacy. It is a return to a Cold War emphasis on support for anti-Communist regimes, no matter how reprehensible their internal practices.

Both actions are the immediate result of the Reagan and Republican Senate victories, but they also reflect the growing power of a network of organizations and individuals that have campaigned since the mid-'70s on behalf of both new internal security measures and increased U.S. support for Chile and other anti-Communist dictatorships. Several different groups comprise the network:

• Traditional conservative organizations, publications and politicians, led by *National Review's* William Buckley, the American Conservative Union (ACU), Accuracy in Media and Republican notables Orrin Hatch, Jesse Helms and Jack Kemp.

• Former intelligence officers, like James Angelton, the former head of CIA counterintelligence, and David Phillips, who largely operate through the Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO), and General Daniel Graham, who ran the Defense Intelligence Agency and now heads the Center for Peace through Strength.

ert Moss, who is an editor of the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review* and was once a correspondent for *National Review*, has been repeatedly linked with the CIA.

The different groups also share a more-than-academic interest in the welfare of such anti-Communist dictatorships as Chile. *National Review's* William Buckley helped Marvin Liebman found the American Chilean Council, which became the Chilean government's main lobby in the U.S. The Council paid for trips to Chile by *National Review* correspondents, who sent back glowing accounts. Former *National Review* correspondent in Santiago, Nena Ossa, became a high official in the Pinochet government.

In a 1979 government lawsuit against the American-Chilean Council—which forced it to register as an agent of a foreign government—there is one other name prominently mentioned besides that of Liebman: L. Frances Bouche. Bouche is the executive vice-president of the Council on Inter-American Security (CIS), which lists a veritable who's who of the American right among its directors and advisors, including Hatch, Kemp, newly elected North Carolina Senator John East, CSIS intellectual Robert Fontaine, and ACU chairman Robert Bauman.

Moreover, the groups in the dictator lobby are also intertwined with the internal security lobby. For instance, CIS pub-

stitute Letelier directed) as a "KGB 'black propaganda' agency."

The recently-formed National Committee to Restore Internal Security (NCRIS) operated out of the same offices as CIS and shared its membership not only with CIS, but also with the American-Chilean Council, NCRIS chairman Robert Morris, former chief counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and NCRIS members such as Murray Baron, the president of Accuracy in Media, and Hon. John Davis Lodge, former U.S. ambassador to Franco's Spain, were also founders of the American-Chilean Council.

## The lobby in action.

While the American-Chilean Council and CIS were pressing for American support of Chile, Bolivia, Guatemala and other free enterprise zones, Robert Morris' NCRIS was holding hearings to back up its argument that new House and Senate internal security committees were needed.

The hearings focused on the threat of technology exports to the Soviet Union, which was in line with the Committee members' opposition to detente, and of Soviet-influenced "disinformation fronts" that, whether intentionally or not, conveyed information through the American media that weakened U.S. resistance to Soviet communism. One of the star witnesses was former *Newsweek* foreign correspondent Arnaud de Borchgrave, co-author with Robert Moss of *The Spike*, a thinly veiled attack on IPS (in the novel, the Institute for Progressive Reform) as a KGB disinformation front.

Like Moss, de Borchgrave has long been suspected of being tied to anti-Communist dictatorships by more than simply political sympathy. A *New York Times* report two years ago named de Borchgrave and Moss as recipients of lavish gifts from Iran's Shah. De Borchgrave is now working out of Geneva and out of former CIA director James Schlesinger's office at Georgetown's CSIS.

In his testimony, de Borchgrave explained that the "primary objective" of Soviet disinformation was "the sabotage of Western intelligence services through media exposure."

De Borchgrave referred derisively to the requirement that the CIA must re-



Continued from previous page  
fluence within the administration.

Reagan had always favored re-establishing the internal security apparatus. "We need a public demand for the reinstatement of a committee such as the one-time House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities," Reagan wrote in 1977. Reagan is also deeply enmeshed in the internal security/dictator network through his close political ties to the Buckley family and through close advisors like Mike Deaver and Peter Hanna-

**Denton himself has other worries than internal subversion. "If you want to watch a nightmare," he told a reporter, "go see sailors sucking on dope."**

ford. Deaver, now a prominent White House staff member, is on leave from his and Hannaford's public relations firm, which, besides the Reagan campaign, listed among its clients the governments of Guatemala, Taiwan and Argentina.

Several members of the network occupy important positions in the administration. Donald Devine, a CIS advisor, is the director of the Office of Personnel Management. CSIS's Rogert Fontaine, a director of CIS, is Richard Allen's deputy in the National Security Council and will presumably be handling Latin American affairs.

Former Senator James Buckley is Undersecretary of State for Security Assistance and Ernest Lefever has been nom-

inated Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights—a move roughly comparable to appointing a Klan Imperial Wizard the head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division.

Like his former boss, Henry Kissinger, who joined CSIS after he left office in 1977, Haig has drifted closer to the internal security/dictator lobby. Haig's first actions in office reflect this influence.

Since the early '70s, right-wing authors at CSIS, Hoover, CIS, and elsewhere have been developing the notion of an international terrorist conspiracy emanating from the Soviet Union. These authors define terrorism to encompass both marginal criminal elements like the Symbionese Liberation Army and Baader-Meinhof Gang and liberation movements like the PLO and the Salvadoran guerrillas; and by a circular process of reasoning they link and then limit international terrorism to that which is controlled by the Soviet Union. Therefore Chilean or Argentinian state terrorism escapes their definition.

One of the first efforts on this score was *International Terrorism—the Communist Connection* by Stefan T. Possony of the Hoover Institution and L. Frances Bouche. It was published by the American Council on World Freedom, which is directed by Lee Edwards, who is also a registered lobbyist for Taiwan and Argentina.

Their work has been supplemented by Moss and de Borchgrave (who are working on a "non-fiction" sequel to *The Spike*), Michael Ledeen, the editor of CSIS's *Washington Quarterly*, who was hired by Ray Cline after a brief and mysterious tenure as an editorial writer at a right-wing Milanese newspaper during the critical 1976 Italian elections, Brian Crozier, the CIA-linked director of Britain's Institute for the Study of Conflict, and Georgetown's Samuel Horner, who recently suggested in *Commentary* that because the Red Brigades had only killed or wounded three Italian Communists, they might be linked to the Communists.

#### The congressional connection.

But the internal security/dictator network is even stronger in the Republican-dominated Senate. Barry Goldwater now chairs the Senate Intelligence Committee, which oversees the CIA, and he has appointed John Blake, a former director of the AFIO, as its chief staff member. An author of the Heritage Report, Angelo Codevilla, is also on the staff.

Upon taking over the Judiciary Committee, Strom Thurmond abolished the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights,

set up Denton's Security and Terrorism Subcommittee and gave it—rather than moderate Senator Charles Mathias' Subcommittee on Criminal Justice—jurisdiction over the FBI.

Denton himself is probably the least scary of the Republican members of the Subcommittee. The retired admiral seems initially more concerned with overall Soviet-American rivalry and with moral behavior than with internal subversion. A post-election statement in *U.S. News and World Report* was vintage Denton.



Sen. Barry Goldwater now chairs the committee that oversees the CIA.

"Those barefoot guys at Valley Forge were more of a proportionate defense than what we have now," Denton said. "If you want to watch a nightmare, go see the way sailors are sucking (sic) on dope out on the ships."

The other Republican members of the Committee are Orrin Hatch and John East, both Council on Inter-American Security advisors. Hatch's chief legislative aide is Ronald Docksai, a former Georgetown professor who is the president of CIS. East has hired Heritage Report co-author Sam Francis as his legislative aide.

Initial reports of the Subcommittee's intentions, reportedly emanating from Thurmond's aide Quentin Crommlein, raised the specter of an investigation of "disinformation fronts," but an alarmed reaction, including editorials by the *Washington Star* and *Chicago Tribune*, seems to have caused the subcommittee to adopt a much more cautious approach.

In a statement at the first session, Denton announced that after reviewing the FBI budget, the subcommittee would investigate "transfers of sophisticated technology and the export of strategic materials, including manufactured goods, to

the USSR, Soviet bloc countries, and certain Third World countries which engage in or give support to terrorist activities." Such a focus had been recommended both by Morris' committee and by a Feb. 8 William Buckley column. Only after pursuing these exports would Denton turn to "certain organizations which, in the U.S., engage in or have engaged in acts of terrorism."

But East's performance was less reassuring. A political scientist and protege of Jesse Helms, East declared in his open-

ing statement that he was interested in the "growing pattern of terrorism in the world." "The biggest threat to civil liberties today is terrorism," East exclaimed.

East bemoaned the fact that in the '70s both the FBI and CIA had been, in his words, "maligned" by congressional critics. He told the FBI witnesses who testified the first day that he wanted to do whatever he could to remove any "obstacles" that Congress or past administrations had placed in its way.

When FBI official Lee Colwell told the subcommittee that domestic terrorism was no longer one of its three main priorities because of a three-year decline in domestic acts of terrorism, East begged to differ. "On this matter of terrorism," he said, "if we do the analysis strictly on a quantitative basis, aren't we open to error? If there is a growing pattern internationally, is it wrong to assume it is going to have an impact on the U.S.? Wouldn't it be prudent to anticipate it and budget accordingly?"

#### Cause for alarm.

Among Washington's civil libertarians, there is some doubt about the subcommittee's legitimacy. "If you investigate terrorism," Esther Herst, the Washington coordinator of the National Committee against Repressive Legislation, said, "you also have to investigate the politics behind it. I could be told that you can't stop bombing unless you know who is planting the bomb. But from a constitutional standpoint, before the action takes place you have a First-Amendment protection."

But others are more cautious in appraising the subcommittee. "Seeing is believing," ACLU counsel Jerry Berman said. "While watchful, we have seen nothing substantive either in the setting up of the committee or its staffings or its jurisdiction to indicate that it is about to launch a full-scale investigation of anyone."

But whatever the subcommittee initially does, it has nevertheless set up the apparatus to undertake serious witch-hunts if the need arises—perhaps due to mounting opposition to Reagan's foreign or economic policies. And whatever Denton's intentions, his cohorts Hatch and East, aided by Docksai and Francis, will have no hesitation in turning the committee toward "disinformation fronts."

There is reason to doubt that these men—certified members of the internal security/dictator network—will shrink from violating the First or Fourth Amendments. It is possible that in three or maybe six years, they could say about the U.S. what Robert Moss said in 1975 about Chile:

"It would probably be impossible to produce a democratic government with the guts and popular backing to sustain the current program of economic reconstruction which is at least beginning to bring inflation under control."

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## CITIES

# More sweatshops are not the answer

By Richard LeGates  
and David Wilmoth

SAN FRANCISCO

**I**N 1964, MARTIN ANDERSON WROTE a book entitled *The Federal Bulldozer* that called for the immediate repeal of the urban renewal program. "Though the program had 'laudable goals,'" he wrote, "it has not and cannot achieve them. Only free enterprise can." Anderson is now chief domestic policy advisor to President Reagan, and his dream of getting government out of the picture and leaving urban problems to the private sector appears to have come of age.

The Reagan administration favors a two-pronged urban policy of radically reducing existing programs of federal aid to cities while freeing private business to do as it likes in certain inner-city areas. The centerpiece of this approach is the so-called free enterprise zone. And mayors, governors and minority leaders, among others, have been trying to figure out just what this new term may mean in practice.

There are many versions of the basic concept, but all rely on two key features: first, a reduction of business taxes and, second, a scaling down or elimination of regulations that affect business. Both concessions would be targeted—in theory at least—to the most distressed sections of the most hard pressed cities. Different proposals juggle the mix of tax relief that business would get from local property taxes, federal Social Security tax, and state and federal corporate income tax. Some blend in features attractive to liberals in an effort to gain support.

Legislation sponsored by the unlikely duo of Republican tax-slasher Jack Kemp and South Bronx Democrat Robert Garcia, for example, stresses tax breaks for business in selected areas. But the more extreme versions sweeten the tax breaks with a virtual across-the-board suspension of existing environmental, health and safety, minimum wage, social security, zoning and building code regulations. (In fact, one proposal felt the need to specify that it would preserve the child labor laws.)

A similar idea is now being implemented by the Thatcher government in Britain, modelled on the "free trade zones" that operate in parts of Asia and Africa to facilitate the exploitation of local labor. Ex-ACTION head Sam Brown has called the idea "colonialism brought home." And some liberals have warned that if these zones of "fairly shameless free enterprise" (to quote Peter Hall, the British originator of the idea) do take hold in their most malignant form we may find the most vulnerable workers—unskilled minorities, immigrants, women and undocumented workers—toiling for well below minimum wage in unsafe shops with no recourse to benefits or compensation. In other words, free enterprise zones may become "outlaw zones" for now-illegal employment practices.

Yet the general idea of enterprise zones has drawn support from both liberals and conservatives, and the government may act on it as early as 1982. How such a program will actually look when it emerges from the legislative process is anyone's guess, but there are some obvious problems with the scheme in almost any form. One is that reducing business taxes in some areas and not others may be unconstitutional. Another is that research has shown that tax incentives have little effect on business location decisions. Moreover, adjusting the terms of numerous laws and regulations for a host of little geographic islands will surely prove to be a monumental political and administrative task.

And that's only one phase of the Rea-

gan plan. While the administration is packing its presents to business, cutbacks in existing urban programs will have a more immediate—and more negative—impact on U.S. cities.

The recently discovered miscalculation now causing the administration to cut deeper than previously announced and uncertainty as to what adjustments will be made in the coming heavy budget battles with Congress make it difficult to say just how deep the cuts will go, but it is clear they will be massive.

The pre-mistake-correction Budget contemplates total elimination of the Department of Commerce's Economic Development Administration—a focus of Carter's efforts to encourage urban economic development. Major programs in Housing and Urban Development will be drastically curtailed: subsidized housing production will be reduced by 13 percent in 1982; rent subsidies to low-income households will be dropped by raising allowable rents from 25 to 30 percent of income; public housing modernization, including a lead-paint removal program, will be deferred; the planning assistance program will be completely eliminated on the grounds that the original goal of setting up local urban planning now has been accomplished; and the rehabilitation loan fund, the neighborhood self-help development program, and the solar energy and energy conservation bank will all be eliminated. Altogether, more than \$10 billion will be cut from HUD's 1982 budget authority. At the same time, all public-sector CETA (Comprehensive

with private capital in distressed areas.

To date UDAGs mainly have provided windfalls to developers of hotels and convention centers, who likely would have carried out their projects without government help. CDBGs, on the other hand, have been used largely for programs that benefit low and moderate income residents, including essential services such as fire and police. Under the new arrangement cities will be forced to choose between the pro-growth interests with their very visible development projects and wider community needs.

## History repeats itself.

But this is not the only way in which CDBG programs are likely to be warped and twisted if the experience of the second Nixon presidency offers any clues.

In January 1973, President Nixon announced his own moratorium on virtually all programs of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and impounded already-appropriated federal urban funds. At the same time he initiated a bold strategy of "new federalism" to fundamentally alter the size, distribution and politics of federal urban funding. Nixon wanted a smaller pie, resliced to favor geographical areas of Republican strength and projects unrelated to traditional "urban" concerns for poor residents, administered with virtually no federal oversight. These extreme proposals were watered down in Congress, but eventually resulted in the Community Development Block Grant program. The Carter administration modestly increased the pie, slightly shifted the way it was cut and added more federal oversight. Now the more extreme form of Nixonian new federalism may be revived by the Reagan team.

Congress and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development are again reviewing the allocation formulas for CDBG funding. Increased population growth in the South, the Southwest and the Pacific Coast, reapportionment that will increase the power of these regions in Congress, and their Republican character all point towards the likeli-

stituency rather than to the most hard-pressed areas. Earlier, model cities money was similarly dispersed citywide when Nixon revamped the program first put in place by Lyndon Johnson. A smaller pie, divided among haves as well as have-nots, will be the order of the day.

During the Nixon-Ford phase of the Community Development Block Grant program cities were given a very free rein with little Washington supervision. Then CDBG funds ostensibly intended to meet the physical development needs of low and moderate-income communities had a disturbing way of turning up underwriting the costs of new fire houses; of maintaining curbs, gutters and parks that would otherwise have been funded from public works or park and recreation funds; and even of building a golf course and tennis courts. In the austere 1980s we are not likely to see a repeat of the tennis court scandals, but it's very likely that federal urban funds will go only for mundane public-works projects that have traditionally been paid for from the general fund. Unless the federal government enforces so-called maintenance-of-effort provisions, the block grants will be no more than a thinly disguised form of local property tax relief.

Vigorous opposition to the Reagan urban policies is starting to take shape. The National Black Leadership Forum was quick off the mark with a study showing that 60 percent of the \$54 billion in budget cuts will be concentrated in urban areas. Forum chair Benjamin Hooks, who is also Executive Director of NA-

**Reagan's free enterprise zones, Sam Brown warns, amount to "colonialism brought home."**



Without federal oversight, there's no guarantee that block grant money will find its way to the most distressed urban areas.

Employment and Training Act) jobs will be eliminated, thus taking away the mainstay of many essential city services. Regional development commissions will go, as will the youth conservation corps.

Those programs that remain will pit lower income and minority groups against more entrenched constituencies in direct competition for less available money. Defending the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) program, for example, will mean that localities will have to take money from their Community Development Block Grants (CDBGs) for the kinds of projects UDAGs used to bankroll—mostly grants to encourage economic development jointly

hood of large shifts of funds to them and away from the northeast and north-central U.S. and the Atlantic Seaboard. Within regions it is likely that rural communities will increase their share of funding at the expense of urban areas. And within metropolitan areas we can expect a drain of funds away from central cities and into suburbs. Even what money trickles down to the troubled core cities is likely to be "spread" away from the most distressed neighborhoods. When Community Development Block Grants were implemented under the Ford administration and cities were told to do what they wanted, funds went to provide goodies for every councilperson's con-

ACP, has warned that the cuts "will simply increase the economic inequities that exist between rich and poor and black and white in our society." "Whatever the odds," he said, "we will resist and not bow. We will employ litigation when our constitutional rights are in jeopardy; engage in the drama of mass demonstration to educate the American people; engage in political action and voter registration, and use the tactic of economic withdrawal."

Richard LeGates is the director of the Urban Center at San Francisco State University. David Wilmoth is a lecturer in San Francisco State's Urban Studies Program.



## SPAIN

# Monarch strikes a blow for democracy



When King Juan Carlos signed Spain's new constitution in 1978, there was some doubt about his commitment to the republic.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**G**UARDIA CIVIL COLONEL ANTONIO TEJERO MOLINA'S Feb. 23 overnight putsch demonstrated that dangerously little real life has been breathed into Spain's formal democracy. When the colonel and his troops captured the whole Congress as it was about to vote a

new prime minister into office and instead called for a military takeover, the population did not rush into the streets to defend its elected leaders. Spain's public life ceased. On the surface, absolutely nothing happened. Spanish television went off the air, the radio broadcast only classical music. After seven hours, his majesty Juan Carlos appeared briefly on television to assert his authority and the existing constitutional legality. Democracy was saved by one man, and a

king at that.

By next morning, the king had persuaded Colonel Tejero to surrender and the putsch was over. But the public could only wonder what had been promised in the king's all-night negotiations with his military commanders. Had Juan Carlos made concessions to the ultras? Or, on the contrary, would the abortive putsch help him carry through a much-needed purge of the armed forces, especially the Guardia Civil?

Colonel Tejero is a familiar hothead who first attracted attention in 1977 by opposing legalization of the Basque flag. He was arrested in November 1978 for plotting to capture Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez and his cabinet to force Juan Carlos to install a rightist government (called the "Galaxia plot" after the Madrid cafe where it was hatched). Back on active duty after a year in jail, Tejero was certainly encouraged by more powerful military officers. In an "appeal to the Spanish people" issued at dawn on Feb. 24, Tejero claimed to be under orders from Gen. Jaime Milans del Bosch, 65, commander of the Valencia region, the only officer to declare a state of emergency during the crisis.

Milans del Bosch is about as far right as it's possible to get. A hero of the Franco side of the civil war who was later decorated by the Nazis with the Iron Cross, he has served as Spanish military attaché in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay. "Democratic" Spain has never managed to remove men like these from important command positions. After the putsch, he was removed and arrested.

But the conspiracy seemed to extend far beyond such conspicuous extremists. More surprising was the dismissal of deputy army chief of staff Gen. Alfonso Armada Comyn, a "moderate" who was Juan Carlos' military instructor for years before becoming his administrative secretary.

Was Tejero's putsch a trial balloon, like the abortive June 1973 putsch against Allende in Chile, which helped show "loyal" officers like Pinochet how to go about it? In Spain it would apparently be so easy it may not be worth it. The legal, democratic left seemed incapable of offering the slightest resistance, whereas the military men's main enemy, the Basque terrorists of ETA, are already out-

lawed and seem to thrive on repression.

ETA's military branch has been goading the rightist officers into a coup by assassinating the generals from time to time, apparently following the horrendous strategy of "the worse things get, the better." But the military have goaded back. When ETA murdered the engineer in charge of the Lemóniz nuclear power plant Feb. 6, the widespread public outrage from the Basque population itself, coming on the heels of a fairly successful visit by Juan Carlos, seemed to lay the ground at last for isolating ETA terrorists and persuading the Basques to play along with gradual, peaceful steps to autonomy. But this was turned around one week later by the death from torture of an imprisoned ETA suspect, Jose Arregui. The military thus threw ETA the fresh martyr it needed to justify its campaign of terrorism.

The timing of the democratization has been unfortunate, coinciding with growing unemployment and inflation unchecked by unpopular austerity measures. Fascism under Franco was the enthusiasm of privileged classes, of a military caste and reactionary Catholicism. Part of the privileged classes, notably the most advanced financial and business circles, decisively came around to preference for a moderate parliamentary democracy under the reign of Juan Carlos. But during the Suarez government, stagflation has created something new: a plebeian nostalgia for Franco. Grumbling is rising from the poorer classes that blames democracy for economic troubles and for Basque terrorism.

The parliamentary left, Socialist and Communist, hoped its self-restraint would help legitimize democratic government under Suarez so it could move gently from "center" to, perhaps, center-left, with Socialist Felipe Gonzalez. Instead, it has abruptly moved to the right. The left suddenly appears out of the real play of political power, which remains strangely obscure, secret. The public does not understand why Adolfo Suarez unexpectedly resigned as prime minister last Jan. 29, or why his party, the Union of the Democratic Center, decided to replace him by right-winger Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo.

The democratic left parties seem passive and powerless, while what the fascist officers call the "country's real institu-

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## FOREIGN POLICY

## All empires are created equal

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**A**MERICA'S EUROPEAN ALLIES seemed to fall into line at Haig's first crack of the whip over Central America. The European Economic Community (EEC) cancelled emergency food shipments to starving Salvadoran peasants as requested by Haig after his emissary Lawrence Eagleburger toured European capitals with "documentary proof" the hungry people were being armed by the Soviet Union and Cuba.

But the Europeans were hedging. EEC commissioner Gaston Thorn turned around and said that Europeans' "prudence" and "comprehension of what the U.S. is saying" in no way altered Europeans' "determination" to aid the people of El Salvador. He expressed confidence in the Red Cross and other international relief agencies to deliver the promised half-million-dollars worth of food and other aid to the right people—whatever that means.

Flattered by Haig's praise for France's exemplary strategy in Africa, the French government was first to grant official credibility to U.S. proof of Soviet interference in El Salvador. French foreign minister Jean Francois-Poncet expressed disapproval and compared U.S. problems in Central America to French experience in Africa. But not every European country can be won over by U.S. recognition of a parallel empire in Africa.

In Bonn, Philip Agee gave a press conference to warn that the U.S. was concocting "another Vietnam" in El Salvador. Drawing on his past CIA experience, Agee said the documents being trotted around Europe by Eagleburger looked like typical black propaganda forgeries. For example, he said the "captured report" attributed to the El Salvador Communist Party leader was far too precise and detailed to have been dispatched through a country at war.

But the credibility that matters is surely not that of the "captured documents" so much as of Haig's introductory promise to sort out and reward America's "real friends," using El Salvador as the test. Those who fail can expect trouble.

European television has run a number of documentary films on life behind the guerrilla lines in El Salvador. It is quite obvious that even if their weapons—hardly impressive—were supplied by nefarious Cubans, Vietnamese and Russians, the strong desire to use them stems from purely local conditions. Europeans know perfectly well the U.S. is as capable of forging documents to prove Soviet involvement in Central America as the USSR was capable of forging proof

of U.S. and Chinese involvement in revolts in Afghanistan. And in neither case can such involvement, even if real, be the cause of the problem.

What is striking is the perfect symmetry between the justifications being cited by the U.S. for its interference in El Salvador and Soviet justification for the invasion of Afghanistan. Indirectly, the U.S. is supporting the Soviet position in Afghanistan by using exactly the same imperial reasoning.

Even more alarming, this is the very kind of reasoning, complete with "evidence," that the USSR will use if and when it moves to crush the free labor movement in Poland. Thus the U.S. is also indirectly encouraging the Russians to invade Poland. After all, the Reagan administration has no stake in the Polish labor movement and could get much more political mileage out of Soviet beastliness. The definitive breakdown of European detente that would result would at least offer the Reagan administration some consolation in tightening the Atlantic Alliance.

How well the Socialist International would resist the U.S. diplomatic offensive was not immediately clear, since its member parties are mostly in opposition. French Socialist Party spokeswoman Veronique Neiertz accused the French government of opportunism and reiter-

International support for the El Salvador member, the National Revolutionary Movement. Sources close to S.I. leadership denied U.S. press reports that the Dominican Revolutionary Party had joined the Costa Rican National Liberation Party in dissenting from S.I. regional policy. The Dominican member has not changed its position, the sources said, adding that there was no real split in S.I. ranks, but that the Costa Rican member party is facing elections it hopes to win and is particularly sensitive to U.S. pressure at this time.

It is no secret to anyone that one purpose of Socialist International support to Central American revolutionary movements has been to provide them with an alternative to Soviet bloc aid in hopes of keeping them within the Western economic and political system. If the Reagan administration were solely concerned with stopping Soviet subversion, it could welcome these initiatives. Instead, it seems determined to assert unique U.S. control of Central America—the largest oil-producing region after the Middle East.

If the U.S. military controls both the Middle East and Central America, then until the oil era runs out European and Japanese industry—and competition—will be at the mercy of the United States. European leaders are acutely aware of this, but not one of them will breathe a

There is a striking symmetry between U.S. justifications for intervening in El Salvador and the Soviets' rationalizations for the invasion of Afghanistan.

ated socialist solidarity with the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, whose president Umberto Ungo is a member of the Socialist International. Dissenting noises issued from the coalition government in Bonn, whose overall meekness was ascribed by Social Democrats to Free Democrat (liberal) Dietrich Genscher's control of the foreign ministry. The West German government was reportedly trying to put itself in a position to mediate between the U.S., the El Salvador armed forces (considered the only real power within the junta), the Catholic Church and the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

European Social Democrats seemed to be waiting for encouragement from the Feb. 28 regional meeting of Central American S.I. member parties theoretically expected to reaffirm existing Socialist

word in public about this taboo subject.

European caution is easy to understand. Europe has that much less interest in angering Washington since the U.S. might succeed in tightening its grip on world oil supplies. Europe cannot possibly counter U.S. domination by military means. Everything thus depends first of all on the strength of the popular resistance to American imperialism in Central America itself, and secondarily on broad public support in Europe—and in the United States—for such resistance. There is a natural coincidence of interest between Europe and democratic movements in Central America, which eventually may find important political and even material expression in social democratic leadership, but only if that leadership is prodded from below by a strong popular movement. ■



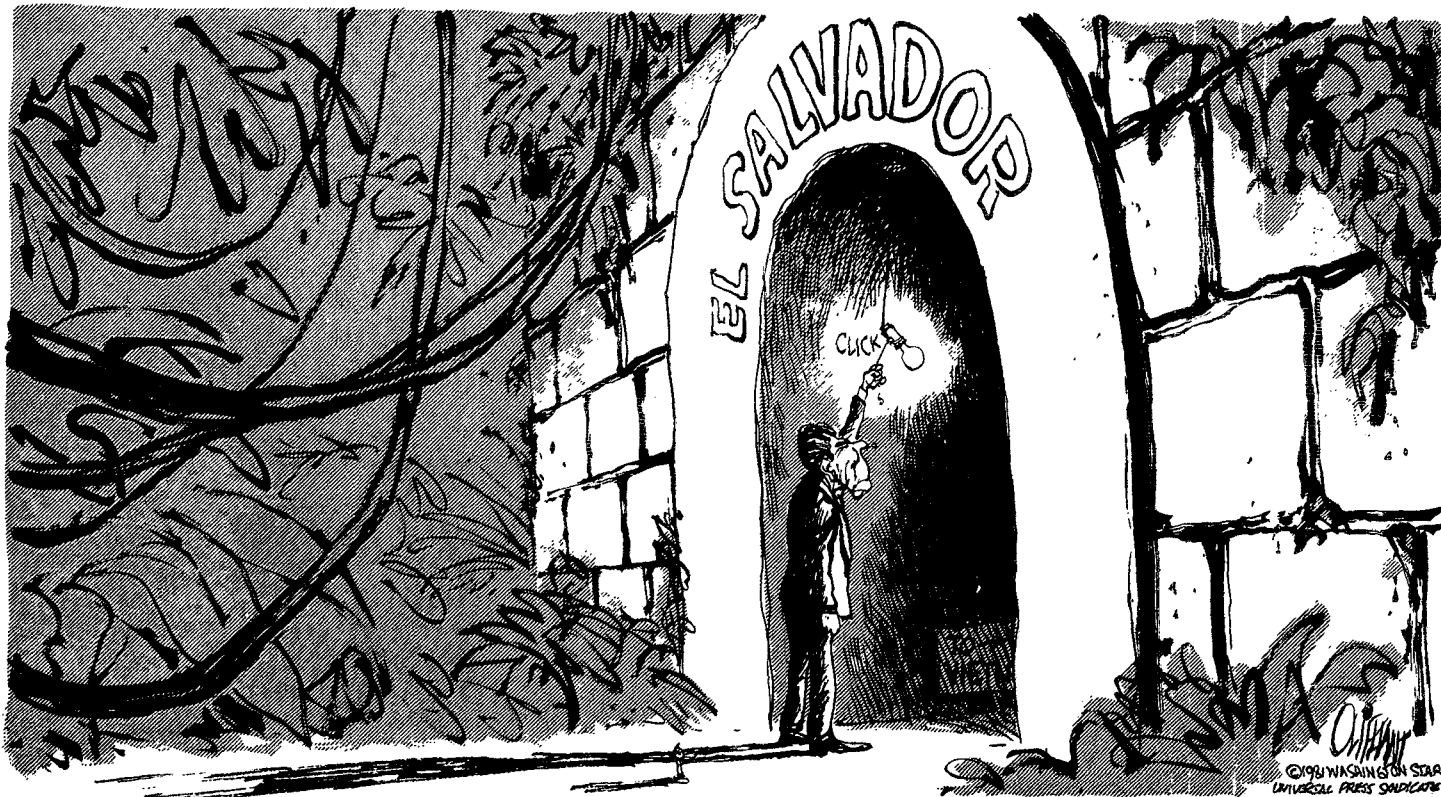
A gun-wielding Gen. Tejero directs the takeover of the House chamber.

tions" flex their muscles. The ultra-conservative Catholic hierarchy is charging onto the political battlefield to combat divorce and abortion, stirring up a moralistic backlash facilitated by the fact that a porno boom has been the most visible feature of a "sexual liberation" more apparent than real. Pro-torture officers have shown their solidarity by resigning in protest over the disciplining of those responsible for torturing Arregui to death.

For the Spanish bourgeoisie, a compelling motivation for democratization was to attach Spain economically to democratic Europe. But France's role in particular in stalling Spain's entry into the Common Market has aroused considerable bitterness against both the French government and the French Communist Party, which have put the interests of French wine growers ahead of consolidating democracy in Spain. Democracy has turned out to be a weaker card in the international game than advertised.

Meanwhile, the advent of Haig and democratic NATO's tolerance for the military coup in Turkey seem to create a situation in which Spain's entry into NATO would not be blocked and could even be hastened by a military coup.

The image of the duly elected Congress as hostage of the military thus remains as a symbol of a relationship of forces on the eve of the confirmation of a new prime minister who promises to turn Spain sharply to the right. Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo means to end the transitional "consensus" policy of Adolfo Suarez, involving consultations with the Socialist and Communist opposition leaders. Instead, Calvo Sotelo promises economic liberalism *a la* Thatcher-Friedman, anti-communism and a strongly pro-NATO foreign policy. Sotelo has said his government would mark an end to the "transition period." A big question is whether the new period will arouse the population from its "disenchantment" with democratic politics. Until that happens, the left is in the odd position of looking for protection to the throne. ■



THE LIGHT AT THIS END OF THE TUNNEL



# Bringing it all

Sending piecework  
outlawed along  
and unpaid over  
—in Brooklyn, n

By Hardy Green and Elizabeth Weiner

Photos by Hardy Green

## back home



A woman in New York's Chinatown takes sewing back to her apartment.

### NEW YORK

**L**UELLA BREEN AND ELSA Perez are both American garment workers. Luella knits ski caps and sweaters for a company in Vermont, which pays her around \$75 a week, depending on how many caps and sweaters she makes. When work is steady, Elsa makes \$100 a week sewing blouses for a Brooklyn garment contractor. Neither woman receives extra compensation for overtime, payments into the social security fund or any other benefits. And their employers—in addition to the savings on wages and benefits—pay no overhead. This is because for Luella, Elsa and thousands of others the factory is at home.

Like an unwelcome visitor from the early part of the century, "industrial homework" has returned in a number of labor-intensive industries. Along with child labor, unpaid overtime and other wage-and-hour abuses, the practice was outlawed under Labor Department regulations provided for in the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act, and by state legislation of the same time. For many years it hardly existed at all. But now, under quietly arranged "off-the-books" agreements, a growing number of women workers are accepting homework as their lot.

Luella, for one, wants to work at

home. A self-described "typical Vermonter," she says that it was Yankee resourcefulness, not economic desperation, that led her to turn to home knitting to supplement her income from Social Security. Waving the banner of Vermont's tradition of "independent craftsmanship" and "cottage industry," her employer and other manufacturers in the state, along with two right-wing, anti-regulatory legal foundations, are involved in a campaign against the Department of Labor's legal restrictions on homework. They have garnered support from state officials, attracted media coverage, and pushed the Labor Department into holding hearings to reconsider the restrictions. Listening to their arguments, it is easy to feel that here, at least, those who complain about excessive regulation may be right—and to believe that big government should withdraw and allow these people to get on with their business.

But the actual situation of most homeworkers bears a greater similarity to conditions in Elsa's native Dominican Republic than to a mythologized American past of independent cottage entrepreneurs. An underground economy has emerged in the United States, based upon the availability of vulnerable undocumented workers and on the general industrial decline that has made workers of all kinds willing to settle for less. Rising prices and an import-flooded market have encouraged garment manufacturers to want to expand this economic sec-

tor—and homework offers all the benefits of running away to a Third World workforce without moving an inch.

### A world of few choices.

Vicky Chao, who came to New York seven years ago from Taiwan and now has two children, works at home—full time. She bought a knitting machine for \$400 and knits suits and other sportswear on order for a factory near her Chinatown apartment.

Each suit, with blouse and skirt sections, takes her about four hours to complete and nets her about \$17. Working between her household duties, she sometimes makes up to \$600 a month.

Though Vicky gets instructions on new patterns from the factory, she pays for her own training the hard way. "Once I had to take a suit all apart and start again. I have to pay for that," she explains in halting English. "It's very slow with new patterns." She offsets time lost at night when the knitting machine is too loud to run by crocheting or knitting by hand.

Vicky says she is glad to have a way to make money, but she adds, "If I didn't have babies to look after, I could make more money. I'd like to go out for a job, but I can't. I'd have to pay for the babysitter anyway, so this is better."

Like Vicky, Elsa and Luella, many other women work at home because it is the only practical way to combine the

double duties of family care and wage-earning. Elsa and Luella have no choice. Their children have disabilities that make homework a necessity. For other women, themselves disabled, working at home—with no transportation problems or strict hours—keeps them just this side of desperation.

Isabel Magriz has a chronic kidney ailment that occasionally sends her to the hospital. She used to work in a nearby South Bronx factory by day and at home by night, but she no longer feels up to that schedule. Now she just works at home. "My apartment is more comfortable than the factory," she says. "Here I have more room to spread out the work, and when I am in pain I can take little breaks and lie down for a while."

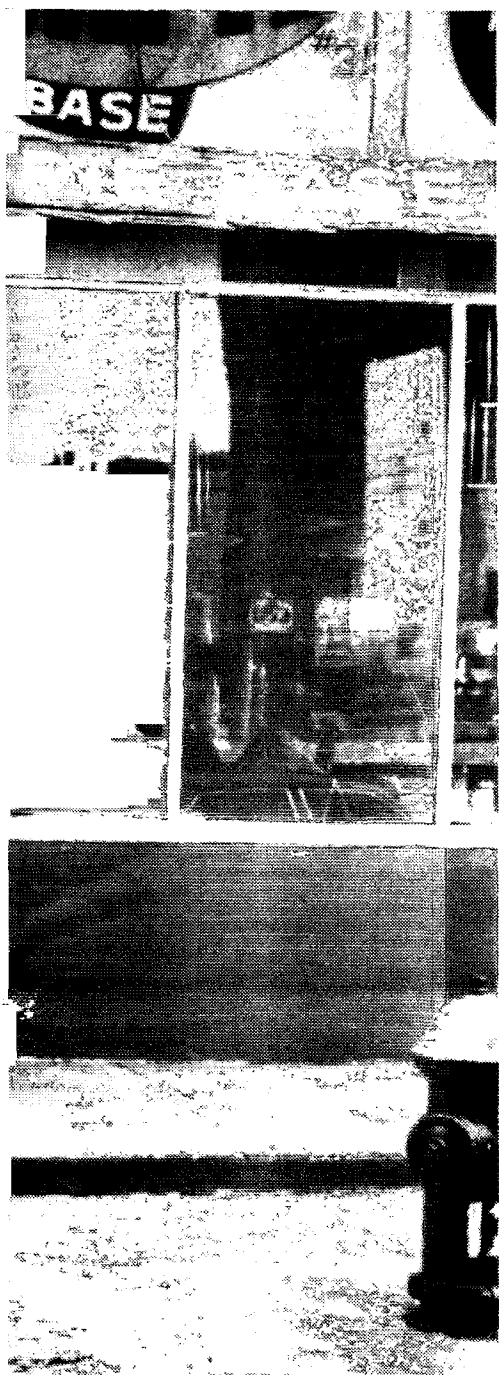
Isabel sews women's dresses for \$1.30 a dress. That income—combined with the \$87.50 a week from welfare—keeps her and her three children afloat. Though the wages are tax-free, homework has its hidden costs: Isabel's electric bill doubles with the use of the sewing machine, and she must pay for the machine's repairs and for gasoline when she drives to pick up her piece goods. Moreover, Isabel says there are deductions from her pay. "It's not for Social Security," she says angrily. "They take out 6 percent for giving me the privilege of working off the books."

### No documents, no complaints.

Phony state and federal taxes are deducted from Delfina Salazar's paycheck, too, but she can't complain without calling attention to her status: she and her daugh-



out of the factory was  
child labor  
a. But it's back  
Taiwan.



ters are here as undocumented workers. Originally from central Mexico, they now live in a Hispanic immigrant enclave in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn.

Delfina and one daughter, Paula, work in a factory all day where they make decorative bows and ribbons by cutting and tying felt and woolen strands. They are paid piecework rates, so they labor under constant pressure to produce as many items as possible. At night, rather than relax, the women continue working. They spend most of the night tying bows from the material Paula brings home from the shop.

"My boss takes advantage of me because I'm illegal," Paula said one evening, bows flying through her hands. "It should be that he pays extra for working at home. But he pays less." With help from her mother and her sister Gloria, Paula can tie three grosses of bows, or 432 bows, in an hour. Her boss pays her \$1.25 a gross.

Paula is 19, but going on 40 with work and worry. She fussed over her mother, who complained of a sore throat from breathing the red dust from the bows. And though four-year-old Susie, Gloria's daughter, can tie the bows expertly, Paula explained that they still let her play—she would have plenty of time to work in the future.

Paula wonders if she is doing the right thing. "I should look for work elsewhere," she admitted, "but I'm afraid I won't find it, so I stay."

Many undocumented workers, like Paula and her family, are forced to accept abuse because they fear unemployment, or worse yet, reprisals like depor-

tation. Father Steve Lynch, an activist Catholic priest who ministers to the Salazars and many of their fellow immigrants in Williamsburg, says most of the homeworkers he knows are undocumented. "Some of the employers around here call the Immigration Service just before payday," Lynch revealed. "They turn in whole factories and there's nothing the workers can do about it except run. The owners know they'll find new people the next day. Many of the undocumented women just prefer to stay home and work. The outside world just means danger."

### The competitive edge.

For small factory owners and garment contractors, danger means being underbid. In industries like garment production, contractors compete in a "reverse auction," selling their production capacity—labor and machines—to entrepreneurs with the raw materials—designs and cut-goods—for the lowest price. The name of the game is to keep costs to a minimum. If a contractor can save on overhead costs and payroll taxes, and pay low piece-rates, yet double his workforce by sending work home, he can successfully underbid his competitors and still make money.

When a woman takes work home, the contractor's costs are cut in half, according to industry sources. Doing the same work at home, even for the same piece-rate as in the factory, in effect reduces her own wages by half. If a contractor pays 50 cents per pair of pants both in the factory and at home, the homeworker will earn only 25 cents on each garment since she must pay for electricity, supply the thread and pay off the loan for the sewing machine.

The world of garment manufacturing is different than it was 15 years ago, when 40 percent of all garments were made in New York City. At that time garment workers were paid wages on a par with those of other industrial workers. But in the '60s, garment manufacturers began to move their factories out of the dense, highly unionized New York City area. They sought lower production costs to compete with other American firms that were beginning to import goods from places like Taiwan, Korea and the Dominican Republic. Today imports account for more than 20 percent of the wholesale apparel market and *Business Week* reports that it will reach 50 percent by the end of the decade.

Now, only 15 percent of American garments are New York-made, and competitive pressures have driven much of the remaining industry in urban areas either underground or out of town to an underemployed rural workforce.

### Damn Yankees.

C.B. Vaughan and David Putnam are small Vermont manufacturers who depend upon women homeworkers to produce knitted products. Vaughan, a prep-py Dick Cavett look-alike and former Olympic skier, operates C.B. Sports ski-wear factories in Bennington and in Salem, N.Y., and has employed as many as 50 homeworkers. Putnam's Stowe Woolens has no factory and depends completely upon its 25 homeworkers for production. Both companies are currently un-

der indictment for violations of the federal homework regulations.

Fines for such violations are usually light, and most employers have shrugged them off as just another operating expense. Vaughan and Putnam, though, acknowledge no wrongdoing and have organized a major attack on the Labor Department's regulations, insisting that homework is a good thing for everyone concerned. So far, their plucky "little business vs. Big Brother" campaign has drawn support from a number of politicians including the governor of Vermont and the state's attorney general; has received coverage from NBC's *Weekend Magazine*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Newsweek* and *Country Living*; and has coerced the Labor Department into holding hearings to determine whether the regulations should be changed.

"The benefits of homework are obvious," Putnam testified before one such recent hearing. "A person is able to earn money and fulfill domestic obligations, and not having to commute saves gasoline and operating expenses of a car. Homework allows the person to work on an independent schedule at a chosen pace. The homework regulations are wrong in every respect and should be abolished."

Putnam's position has aroused opposition from the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, whose members are in danger of losing jobs if homework is legalized. But additional support for the Vermonters' cause has come from two conservative "public interest" law firms, the Capital Legal Foundation of Washington, D.C. (an affiliate of the National Legal Center for the Public Interest) and the New England Legal Foundation, headquartered in Boston.

The involvement of these groups demonstrates the larger significance that this little fight has taken on. National Legal Center affiliates have made a specialty out of attacking those government regulators, from OSHA to the FCC, that the vested interests have viewed with hostility. (See *In These Times*, Jan. 14, 1981.) Ralph Nader, another favorite target, recently told *Mother Jones* magazine that "Capital is a right-wing group designed to do things for business that business lobbyists would be ashamed to do openly, or would not do for strategic reasons."

### Stealing thunder from the left.

The attack of these groups is slick and unapologetically reliant upon liberal and counter-cultural arguments. The current homework regulations oppress women, Capital's Ruth Yudenfriend has claimed, "since they are prevented from raising their children and earning a living at the same time." Appearing as an advocate for C.B. Sports' homeworkers, Robert Ruddock of the New England Legal Foundation reported that energy-saving

"cottage industry is the way of work in the future, as futurists Alvin Toffler and E.F. Schumacher have recognized."

That the right wing has co-opted such arguments is a source of dismay to some observers. "Don't talk to me about women working without provisions for child care and education, wage protection while working, and economic security when they get too old or if they become disabled," declared New York state Assistant Commissioner of Labor Adrienne Critchlow. "Without such things, you've only got something close to slavery." Our failure to achieve more institutional support for working women, she notes, has opened the way for reductions in existing work standards.

Third-World conditions already exist in many cities. "What is happening is the internationalization of production for labor as well as capital," notes sociologist Roger Waldinger, who has studied the impact of immigration upon the garment industry. "Homework was once eradicated in the United States, but many things continued to be made under deplorable conditions around the world. With the standard of living so much better here, workers from Third World countries come to fill the miserable jobs Americans won't take. The same people who are making clothes abroad under conditions that violate international labor codes come here to make them under relatively similar conditions."

Julia Preston of the North American Congress on Latin America adds, "When you walk down many streets in the South Bronx or East Brooklyn, the air literally buzzes with the sound of sewing machines, coming from the second story windows of the row houses. There's no visible difference between these neighborhoods and Tijuana, Mexico City, or maybe an Asian city."

In mid-winter, Vermont seems like a world apart, an uncorrupted reality of snowdrifts and small towns. The homeworkers and manufacturers there insist that they can take care of themselves. No homeworkers are being exploited here, they say. If people in New York City are being mistreated, then the federal government should go and protect them and leave Vermonters alone.

But isolation does not insure independence, as residents of hamlets from Sri Lanka to Mexico have discovered in this century. The notion that Third-World conditions could come to Vermont may not occur to the supply-siders and anti-regulators in Washington. Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan and his team are already throwing out a number of "unwarranted regulatory obstacles," such as a higher minimum wage for fast food and hotel workers. When the outcome of the Labor Department hearings is announced in a few months, another unwarranted obstacle may have been thrown out, with dire results for all workers.

Hardy Green is a staff writer for ACT-WU's *Labor Unity*. Elizabeth Weiner is a New York writer.

Isabel Magriz earns 30 to 40 cents a garment for her sewing.





# LETTERS

**IN THESE TIMES** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## MYTHOLOGY

**I**N A RECENT REVIEW (ITT, FEB. 4) B. Ruby Rich claims that the *Patriot Game* is a much-needed introduction to the problems and history of the Northern Ireland struggle. Unfortunately, it is nothing of the sort. It is a simplistic view that contributes nothing to an understanding of the struggle for democracy in Northern Ireland and the eventual re-unification of the country into a socialist republic.

The review itself, instead of correcting erroneous misconceptions as Rich claims, helps to perpetuate the myth that the Provisional IRA is a national liberation movement worthy of support from leftists in this country.

Since their inception in 1969-70, the Provisionals' terrorist bombings and assassinations have not weakened British control but have almost destroyed the mass-based civil rights movement. The Provos are opposed by the trade union movement in both north and south of Ireland and have little support among Catholic workers, not to mention the hatred for them among the Protestant working class.

Support should not be given to the Provos simply because they claim they are conducting a military campaign against British imperialism. Northern Ireland is not El Salvador, nor is it Nicaragua. Despite the present direct rule from England, the northern Six Counties and the Republic to the south have all the trappings of a western European parliamentary democracy, and armed struggle under the present conditions is futile.

The Provisional bombing campaign is also immoral. There is no justification for the murder of innocent civilians, many of them Protestant and Catholic workers. The record of the Provos is comparable to the terrorism of the Red Brigades in Italy.

Socialists in the U.S. may also be misled by the slogans and jargon of the Provos who proclaim the aim of a socialist Ireland. Such proclamations are

the contribution of ultra-leftist groups who have thrown in their lot with the Provos to seek a short-cut to social change in Ireland. The superficial progressive image created by them simply masks the ultra-nationalist and bigoted anti-Protestant character of the movement.

—Tom Hayden  
Colonis, N.J.

## NO HOGS HERE

**I**FOUND ONE SENTENCE IN ALEXANDER Cockburn and James Ridgeway's article "Reagan's War on the Impoverished" (ITT, Jan. 28) very offensive and potentially alienating to a small but significant sector of America's oppressed peoples. In an otherwise excellent article the offending sentence was this: "...those familiar with the hoggish self-mystification of American farmers will not be surprised to find that many of these sturdy yeomen (themselves shot full of government aid like a hog with steroids) oppose their own self-interest out of undistilled class hatred for the recipients."

No attempt was made to distinguish between the very large farms, including the large corporate farms, that dominate American and global agricultural production to an increasing extent, from those struggling small farmers (who still exist) who themselves, as victims of the capitalist system, are effectively excluded from almost all of the massive subsidies so liberally handed out to the large "hoggish" farmers.

While one could no doubt find small farmers who do oppose food stamp and other social programs due to a lack of education as to "their own self-interest" and a generally confused social-political perspective promoted by reactionary politicians, there are many small farmers—including some blacks in the South—who know first-hand the meaning of poverty and constitute a group who, if organized and politically educated, would form an important part of a left movement in rural America.

The best way to alienate these people

from any kind of broad-based left coalition is to make arrogant and derogatory statements seemingly directed at all American farmers without distinction. These small farmers may be poor but they are proud and do not like being called "hoggish."

—Ted Wimpey  
Citizens Party, Athens, Ga.

## TOO SIMPLE

**S**IDNEY BLUMENTHAL (ITT, FEB. 18) attributes a major share of the left's difficulties to its unwillingness to take advantage of modern political merchandising techniques. Although I cannot speak for the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), my experience with the Commoner/Harris campaign convinces me that this is a dangerous oversimplification.

There was never any evidence during the 1980 presidential campaign that reporters were "eagerly seeking for fresh stories." Despite innovative ideas, an extensive campaign schedule, numerous press releases and "staged" events such as the Democratic convention walkout or Commoner's offer to act as an intermediary in the Iranian hostage crisis, the Citizens Party's activities were largely ignored by the national media. Neither pleading for even-handed treatment nor confrontations with publishers and executives had any noticeable impact. Finally, when it was evident that all options were exhausted, we created the only ripple of interest our campaign was able to generate by producing the controversial radio spot that Blumenthal so vigorously deplores.

A major share of our frustrations must be attributed to a lack of funds. Using Blumenthal's own marketing perspective, it is well known that when a new firm (party) enters a market it must initially outspend the advertising budgets of the established corporations if it hopes to reduce the consumer's (voter's) brand loyalty and make any sales at all. This, of course, was never realistic, even if John Anderson had not entered the race. Even the microscopic expenditure mentioned in the article is misleading because it includes money spent the year before the campaign began. Moreover, nearly half the remaining \$400,000 was exhausted in ballot access. When you subtract the expense of fund-raising operations, travel, minimal salaries, intra-party communications and the cost for maintaining a national office you find a pitiful \$6,000 outlay for the electronic media.

The left cannot mimic the activities of the New Right or the Moral Majority because it appeals to a clientele that has significantly fewer resources. Conservatives can afford to create numerous PACs that needlessly duplicate activities and invest heavily in television but progressive organizations must, out of necessity, be more austere. We had hoped to create a party on the European model that would be involved in social, educational and electoral activities as well as grass-roots organizing. The platform attempted to point out how single-interests were related while the party apparatus was intended as an umbrella under which numerous pressure groups might coalesce for the promotion of their goals. We have yet to accomplish this objective, but it seems more attractive than what Blumenthal proposes.

—Jim Simmons  
Bloomington, Ind.

er hand, this should be placed in the context that considers the recurrent failure of leftists to maintain an effective constituency within the Democratic Party.

Few if anyone in the Citizens Party seriously thought that "the masses" would flock to the Citizens Party banner in 1980. But it did seem to be a good opportunity to begin the necessary work to organize a political vehicle that might eventually better represent the interests of labor and other progressive activists.

The key error of Citizens Party organizers lay in underestimating the time and money that would be needed to get the party and its campaign off the ground. Blumenthal's point that the media coverage was adequate given the number of votes received is obviously circular.

Recent contributors to ITT have been discussing political realignment. If the Democratic Party cannot continue as an electoral coalition of diverse constituencies, it is not improbable that a new coalition would be formed. The Citizens Party was formed in anticipation of such prospects.

If this scenario should occur, then the worst that the Citizens Party can be accused of is being premature. If the Democratic Party survives as the electoral party of its current constituencies, the Citizens Party will not survive. It would then be recorded as another episode in the dismal history of third-party movements in American politics. But even if two-party politics is the norm in the U.S., given the electoral system, that does not insure that the two parties will be the Democrats and Republicans.

—Antoine Joseph  
Chicago

## UNCLE

**S**INCE ONE OF US IS AN ARTIST AND the other a registered nurse, no doubt John Judis ("The Seamy Side of a Service Economy," ITT, Feb. 4) would regard us as among the least productive of families. But while being called unproductive is an occupational hazard for artists, we're angered by Judis' implication that the work of nurses can be so regarded.

We note first that we find the idea of a direct dollar-value productivity comparison between industrial workers and service workers such as nurses absurd on its face, as the former workers' output consists of physical goods and the latter's of frequently intangible services.


And we note that while decrying low wages paid to service workers, by labeling them unproductive Judis actually advances (hopefully unintentionally) an argument against improving pay scales, since he fails even to consider the idea of the social (as opposed to economic) productivity of employment.

There can be—indeed, are—contributions made by service workers, particularly nurses, far more important than any industrially-based measure of "productivity." Whether those nurses be LPNs or RNs and whether they work in hospitals, nursing homes, public health agencies or in private practice as nurse practitioners or nurse-midwives, the skill, knowledge and professionalism they bring to health care in America marks a social productivity so great it far outweighs all other factors.

—Larry Erickson  
Linda L. Erickson  
Long Branch, N.J.

**John Judis replies:** I never used the term "unproductive" in order to avoid the connotations and grief indicated in this letter. Emma Rothschild does use the term in the article I was summarizing, but explains at some length that she is making a quantitative rather than qualitative point about these jobs.

**Editor's note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



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## DIALOG

## Steelworkers' PR man has pecking disorder

By H.W. Benson

**I**N THE GUISE OF A CRITIQUE of Kim Moody's report on our national conference, Russell Gibbons, director of public relations for the Steelworkers union and editor of its newspaper *Steel Labor*, pecks away at the Association for Union Democracy (ITT, Jan. 21). This is not exactly astounding; most of the criticism of our work seems to come from paid officials of unions with internal union democracy problems.

Contrary to the impression Gibbons would convey, our Association does not support candidates for office in any union. It does support democratic rights and honest elections for union members—from right to left—against those union officials—from left to right—who would suppress democracy and rig elections.

Gibbons' attack on Joe Rauh seems to be based on the fact that Rauh has long been a UAW attorney. As Dr. Boswell could have quoted, "None so blind as

those that will not see." The point is that Rauh criticizes union lawyers, writers, public relations experts, etc., who get paid out of workers' dues, presumably to serve the members' interest, but who follow orders to serve bureaucratic officials against the rank and file. These are the hired hands who combat the efforts of unionists to defend fair elections, these are the apologists who buttress the incumbents against challenge. On the other hand, one can admire and respect those who work hard for unions and spend their time defending workers. Gibbons might keep this simple distinction in mind.

Gibbons' suggestion that Rauh and other "activist" attorneys are out to make a bundle by representing union reformers is ludicrous. The road to big bucks is on the bandwagon of those in power. Rauh has not received one cent from his reform clients. Hopefully, the courts, some day, will award him the legal fees he deserves, to be paid by the union, for the benefits he has won for the union membership. Why is Rauh active

in the field of union democracy? Can you appreciate the satisfaction for him in knowing that without his legal work, a murderer might still be running the United Mine Workers instead of serving a life term in prison, the satisfaction of helping 125,000 steelworkers in District 31 get the leadership they want instead of having one imposed upon them in stolen elections? If Gibbons cannot understand that, it helps us to understand him.

How can you be for "reform," Gibbons seems to ask, when your "heroes" are "autocrats" like Harry Bridges, John L. Lewis and Walter Reuther. No problem for me. Bridges was never one of my heroes. In fact, there is a court case on record entitled *Bridges v. Benson* that arose out of efforts, which I supported, to win fair play for B-men in Bridges' ILWU. The historic contributions of Lewis during the rise of the CIO and the great mine strikes during World War II do not cancel out his debasement of UMW democracy, which led to the rise of the murderer, Tony Boyle. The "autocrat" Walter Reuther pioneered in establishing the UAW Public Review Board to strengthen union democracy. The Steelworkers officials never emulated Reuther. Quite the opposite. They have adopted oppressive election rules and installed a whitewashing committee to enforce them.

Gibbons has discovered (really invented) "those who equate" murder in some unions with "union politics" in the Steelworkers. He fashions that odd claim out of an AUD promotional piece that lists Jock Yablonski, murdered miners' leader, and two west coast Painters leaders, also murdered, along with Ed

Sadlowski's efforts in the Steelworkers. To intensify the unwary reader's shock at such a simplistic equation, he neglects to mention our listing of Frank Schonfeld (Painters) and Jim Morrissey (NMU) and IBEW electricians in the same piece.

There was no murder in the Steelworkers, which is quite different from the Miners, which differs from the Painters and from the NMU and from the IBEW. But in at least one important respect, the Steelworkers deserves classification on any list of unions with serious democracy problems: suspect elections and accusations of vote-stealing have a long recorded history. I was present at the Steelworkers convention in 1960 and saw Donald Rarick, insurgent candidate for president, beaten right in the convention hall and then denounced by the convention chairman for creating a disturbance! Since then, there has been some improvement. At our conference, Ed Sadlowski explained why:

"Years ago, if you stood up and opposed someone, you were charged with slander. In my local union, some guys were thrown down the stairs. That doesn't exist anymore. We have the right to do a lot of things that did not exist 20 years ago, 10 years ago, five years ago. And those rights came about by people standing up, demanding what they thought was their just due and were willing to fight for."

Who are the union reformers? Precisely the kind of people Sadlowski is talking about. We ran a conference to help them along.

H.W. Benson is executive director of the Association for Union Democracy.

## Choice advocates voucher for tuition vouchers

By Alan Bonsteel

**O**UR ORGANIZATION, Education by Choice, is promoting a non-partisan ballot initiative in California for tuition vouchers that avoids most of the pitfalls of tuition tax credits and that answers most or all of the objections that those who are concerned about the interests of low-income people have often raised about proposals for choice in education.

The Coons-Sugarman voucher proposal that we are promoting would give all families access to a tuition voucher of 90 percent of the per-child amount spent on state and local schooling. The voucher would currently be worth about \$2,300. That amount could be augmented by the families only through a system of "power-equalized add-ons"; that is, a poor family might be able to buy a \$500 bonus scholarship for \$200, while a rich family would have to pay full face value.

Admissions would be through a "70-

30" plan; 30 percent of the openings would be reserved for low income students. According to Federal standards, only about 15 percent of California families are considered low-income; thus, low-income students would always enjoy preferential admissions, and, in the event that less than 30 percent of the available openings were applied for low-income students, they would be entitled to automatic admission. Voucher schools would be required to provide transportation to low-income students. An independent information system is provided to aid families, particularly non-English speaking families, in making an informed decision.

These systems are intended to avoid the establishment of voucher schools that are segregated by income or race. Since enforcement of these rules would be up to the state department of education, which is generally pro-public school monopoly and anti-choice, we would expect them to be very zealous in their policing. Such a system would almost certainly result in better integration than we have today.

Public schools, by contrast, despite their image, have an abysmal record in

integration. Public schools in places like Beverly Hills are almost all white and all high income. Public schools in places like Watts are almost all black and all low income. This pattern actually seems to be worsening.

You mentioned in your article that private schools appear to be charging about \$3,500 per child. While it is true that a few elite schools are charging that kind of money, in California they constitute less than 5 percent of all of the private schools. The large majority of private schools in California are either religious affiliated or alternatives like Montessori schools, and as nearly as we can tell, the average tuition here seems to run about \$1,200. The highest tuition levels we have found among religious schools here are in the Seventh-Day Adventists, which charge an average of \$2,038 exclusive of books and transportation, but which offer student/teacher ratios of 17/1.

Of course, once the initiative passes, we would expect a whole generation of voucher schools to come into existence. We would expect most of them to be community-controlled, and we would expect them to offer a very wide range of programs and emphasis. At \$2,300 per child, it would be feasible, for example, for a school to be run from the teacher's own home, with a class size of as little as a dozen or so and with incredibly personalized attention. Such schools could be run by the teachers themselves, with genuine workplace democracy.

Under our program, public schools would continue to exist just as they do today, except that they could open deregulated voucher schools if they wanted to. Private schools could stay outside of the voucher system if they objected to the new guidelines; however, most of them would find it difficult to compete with schools offering quality education at no cost to families, and, as a result, we would predict that the number of "elite" schools might actually decrease.

In late 1978 we ran an opinion poll that indicated that 58 percent of white families in California would like to see choice in education, 63 percent of black families would like to have choice, and 69 percent of Hispanics would prefer choice. We believe that these percentages would today be higher across the board.

The question of what kind—and what quality—education we offer goes to the core of our society. Ultimately, the question we are asking is, who is going to control our schools, and for what purpose? This issue will probably be the most important issue to face the voters

in this decade.

Alan Bonsteel is treasurer of Education by Choice in San Francisco.

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# PERSPECTIVES

## New York's Ed Koch should be a sitting duck, but he's still flying high

By Richard J. Walton

**A** NEWCOMER TO NEW York City politics would be confused and rightly so. The city is in desperate straits: the crippled public transit system, once the finest in the world, is officially in a "state of emergency," crime is rampant, the streets are filthy, public health care is deteriorating, the parks are a disgrace, the libraries are seldom open, civic morale is plummeting and, most alarming of all, a dangerous racial polarization is developing.

Obviously, then, a mayor up for re-election this year should be trembling, fearful that, for the same reasons, he was about to suffer the fate of poor, in-

caused many to question whether he had been acting out of conviction or was just another political hustler whose ambition could be served in a very liberal area only by playing the liberal. Perhaps even Koch himself doesn't know.

His critics have taken to calling him New York's Ronald Reagan. That's not fair to Reagan, who appears to be a nice guy. Koch more resembles Richard Nixon, although his humor and zest in office have obscured the ugly similarities. Like Nixon, he is vindictive and never forgets. And, like Nixon, he believes he has a right to whatever he wants and thus quickly develops a visceral dislike for anyone who has the presumption to oppose him. These qualities, however unattractive, are not necessarily of public consequence. What is frightening is his Nixonian



Mayor Koch, seen here arranging federal aid with President Carter, is expected to have the Democratic, Republican and Conservative nominations next fall.

competent Jimmy Carter. But no, Mayor Edward I. Koch struts on television, wise-cracking happily to appreciative newsmen that no one has the guts to oppose him. Indeed, Koch seems unbeatable. He may run not only on the Democratic line but also on the Republican and Conservative lines.

In a city that prides itself as being the most liberal in the land, Koch embraces conservative Republican state legislators, fawns over the reactionary U.S. Senator Alphonse D'Amato, who defeated liberal Elizabeth Holtzman (Koch damned his former colleague with faint praise during the campaign last fall and entertained D'Amato at City Hall), sits smiling right next to President Reagan at the White House and utters nary a squeak of protest when Reagan announces across-the-board cuts in social services essential to the nation's cities.

But how, a newcomer would ask, could New York have elected such a conservative in the first place? Well, Ed Koch was perceived as very much a liberal. He is a product of one of the more liberal Democratic clubs in the country, the Village Independent Democrats. It was Ed Koch who unseated Carmine DeSapio, the nation's most notorious political boss. And Koch went South as a volunteer lawyer during the civil rights struggle, and Koch, as a member of Congress, vocally opposed the Vietnam war.

His almost complete turnabout has

capacity for exploiting what is euphemistically called "the social issue" or, more bluntly, the ugly subterranean stream of racism in American society.

Koch narrowly won the fragmented, wide-open Democratic primary four years ago—against such opponents as former Representatives Bella Abzug and Herman Badillo and New York Secretary of State Mario Cuomo—because he was the only one to advocate the death penalty. Although that issue was irrelevant to the job he was seeking, the voters got the message and enough of them voted for him to put him in City Hall.

Now, every time a cop is killed, every time the city's fears of violence are aroused, Koch, more vociferously than ever, calls for the death penalty. And he has reinforced his "us against them" image by also advocating preventive detention and reducing defendants' rights and by continually scolding the city's judges for leniency and inefficiency in putting away criminals.

With a kind of genius, he has diverted the working and middle classes' deep dissatisfaction with the cruel cuts in essential services away from his responsibility for them. Thus far, at least, they have responded more to their racial fears than to the daily indignities everyone in the city suffers (except the rich, and even they are not wholly immune), the ethnic working classes in Queens as well as the poor in Bedford-Stuyvesant. The rich he pleases with handsome tax abatements

for the luxury hotels and co-ops and highrise corporate buildings that have led to the grotesque contrast between private wealth and public squalor that is a sure sign of a society's moving toward collapse. Koch is practicing the classic politics of divide and rule.

### Real problems.

It would be fatuous not to recognize that this is an extremely difficult time to be the mayor of any big city. And New York's notorious "financial crunch" has made this city particularly difficult to govern. It is true, too, that earlier mayors practiced "creative" financing that merely postponed the inevitable day of reckoning. Koch did the right thing in moving to eliminate the fat, waste, inefficiency and corruption inevitable in any swollen bureaucracy like New York's municipal government.

But Koch practiced another ugly and ancient art of politics: scapegoating, attempting to turn the people against the municipal unions (even though it was their pension funds that bailed out the city), workers against those on welfare and, by skillful use of code words, the city's whites against the blacks and Hispanics.

Further, Koch did not balk when he went beyond fat to cut into the muscle necessary for New York's survival as a liveable city. For one who glories in his "independence," he has been remarkably complaisant in doing the bidding of the city's financial masters, the banks. Koch has not insisted that the banks, which encouraged and profited by the city's creative financing, relent. He has not insisted that the giant corporations that have so prospered in New York pay adequate taxes. Rather, he has given them handsome tax abatements. Most significant of all, he has not met his obligation as *de facto* mayor-in-chief of the

tering up Reagan and the Republicans, hoping that by so doing, New York will get a few more crumbs than the other cities.

By pointing to his favored treatment and to his smiling photos next to a smiling Reagan and by playing one group of New Yorkers against another, Koch intends to prevail.

Thus far, if the press is to be believed, the tactic is succeeding handsomely. The newspapers love Koch's fiscal responsibility and television loves his standup routines: his flippant dismissal of dissidents as "wackos," his stern lectures to "special interest groups," his way of describing any sector of the city less than admiring of him as the new LaGuardia.

### The opposition.

Can anything be done? Well, a group of establishment liberals has been holding well-publicized anti-Koch meetings. Such figures as Bella Abzug, Herman Badillo, Liberal Party leader Raymond B. Harding, historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., powerbroker Theodore Kheel and *Village Voice* muckraker Jack Newfield have been meeting to seek a candidate to go against Koch in the Democratic primary or the general election. So far, no names have emerged. Abzug and Badillo, once bitten, twice shy, seem to believe the conventional wisdom that Koch is unbeatable. In any case, they are reluctant to step forward. Liz Holtzman, who has no reason to like Koch, evidently hopes to return to Congress next year when redistricting may put a Brooklyn seat up for grabs. Maybe the Liberal Party—they and Koch dislike each other—will be able to put up someone, although in recent years the party has been a weak, and not very liberal, appendage of the Democratic Party.

Professing not to believe that Koch is unbeatable, a group of progressives on

*The city is falling apart, the subways are grinding to a halt, streets are filthy and crime is rampant.*



nation. Koch has not led an urban crusade, during the Carter years or now, to win from a parsimonious president and Congress the funds the cities need to survive. He has not shouted from the housetops—and he is so proud of his combativeness—what should be obvious to any mayor of even modest intelligence (and no one has ever doubted Koch's intelligence): that the greatest danger to America is internal, not external, that the military budget must be slashed, in the name of national security, and the funds promptly directed to where they are most needed, the cities. But Koch has plainly decided on a course of but-

Feb. 8 held an anti-Koch meeting that filled to overflowing a Greenwich Village church less than a five-minute walk from the mayor's rent-controlled apartment. There were the usual young people with the usual protest buttons and "revolutionary" newspapers but also a good sprinkling of middle-aged and elderly people, and blacks, not usually seen at such meetings. The breadth of the panel—all proclaiming the need for leftists to subordinate their differences to the common goal of defeating Koch—gave some reason to hope that a coalition might extend beyond the sectarian lefties who, however admirable their views, constitute no electoral threat to establishment politicians.

Among the panelists were a representative of the Metropolitan Council on Housing (a long-time tenants' group); the Rev. Herbert Daughtry, spell-binding leader of the Black United Front; Jack Clark, New York City chairman of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Barry Commoner, the environmentalist and presidential candidate of the Citizens Party; Conrad Lynn, the civil rights lawyer; plus representatives of several left groups. Perhaps more important, two elected officials from the city were willing to appear publicly: members of the Assembly Roger Green of Brooklyn (a black) and Angel DelToro of Manhattan (an Hispanic). And one of the most influential black politicians in the state, Assembly member Al Van of Brooklyn, signed the call for the meeting, as did several local union leaders.

A search committee was established to find a candidate who would remind the voters that Koch is not an outside critic of municipal government but the man who has presided over the disintegration of New York.

Whether the establishment liberals and the leftists will be able to settle on a candidate remains to be seen.

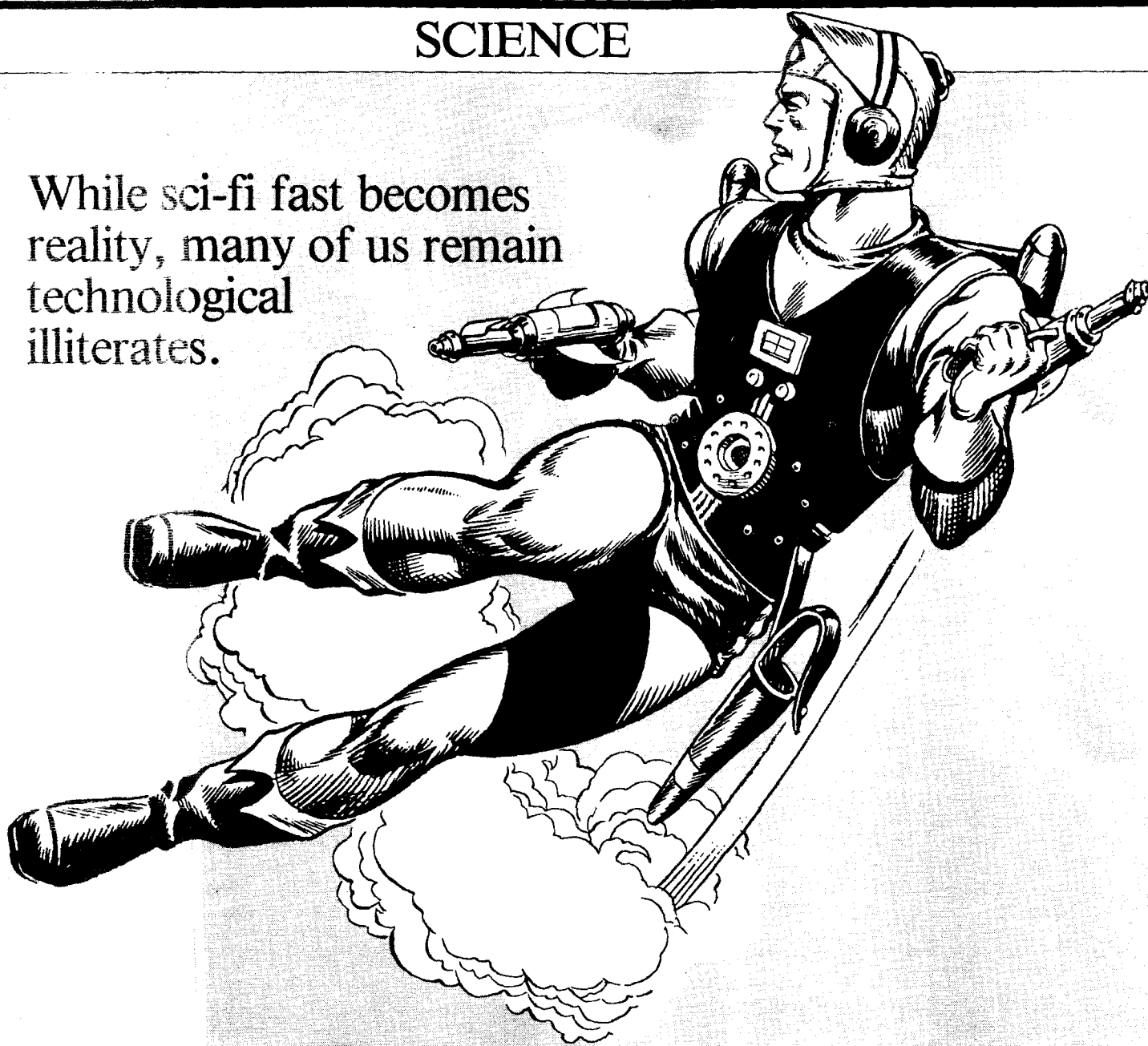
Richard J. Walton is author of *Henry Wallace, Harry Truman and the Cold War*.



# INPRINT

## SCIENCE

While sci-fi fast becomes reality, many of us remain technological illiterates.



## Techno/future moves in fast

**The Techno/Peasant Survival Manual**  
By Ann Marie Cunningham,  
Sharon Begley, Ron Borowski,  
Howard Blume, Toni Burbank,  
Colette Dowling  
Bantam Books, 314 pp., \$8.95

By Dia Michels

According to *The Techno/Peasant Survival Manual*, a "techno/peasant" is anyone who's technologically illiterate; a person whose future is in the hands of the technocrats. Conceived by a woman who had previously devoted her life to the utter avoidance of anything scientific, Colette Dowling decided to put together a manual to "explain technology, to reveal its inner excitement in a playful and exploratory way."

Complete with cartoons, bold captions and delightful graphics, the *Survival Manual* discusses the whole gambit of technological development from genetic engineering and weapons technology to microcomputing, space dreams and artificial intelligence. It covers technology, how it's created, who owns it, what directions it might lead us in, and what she appropriately calls techno/issues.

While invasion of privacy, industrial spying and computer crime are not unknown concepts, satellite colonialism, electronic warfare and recombinant DNA often require a bit more explanation. After all, how many of us know what the word "laser" stands for, or that it even stands for anything (light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation)?

Why is any of this important?

Cliche as it may be, technology itself does not change society; but the ways it is used and the ends that it serves can have a profound impact on the way that a society thinks, acts and performs. "The biggest thing we learned," the authors write in the introduction, "is that you don't have to know everything there is to know about the science of technology to grasp the implications it has for our lives. The second biggest thing we learned is that technology is not cool and remote. Once you plunge in, it's visceral and compelling."

All around us there are subtle signs of the new technologies penetrating our culture: large capacity cable television systems, 24-hour bank machines, nifty pocket calculators, computerized dashboards. Just as our cash economy was replaced with a credit economy, as the development of the phone and television transformed our methods of message transmission, so too will these new technologies affect the way we conduct ourselves in day-to-day living.

If the 19th century marked the change from an agrarian to an industrial society, then the 20th century marks the change from an industrial to an information society. The full scale of this switch didn't fully hit me until I picked up a computer dictionary that the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers (IEEE) recently published. As I looked at it, I realized they were talking about a new language, a new set of terms to describe our activities, our work, our lives. Words that only a few years ago represented a highly

specialized science are now an essential component of our language.

On one hand, the revolution in communications technology is not a revolution at all; it is only the intensification of existing power structures. Calling it a revolution only hides the fact that who calls the shots hasn't changed. Transnationals (headed by IBM) already control 75 percent of international communication, including broadcasting, satellites, publishing and electronics. Individuals that are able to compete successfully are being bought up by transnationals that can afford to spend huge budgets on research and development.

Solutions proposed by technocrats to today's problems, like computerized farming and solar satellite systems, perpetuate the trend towards centralization. Investing huge amounts of resources into fusion "so that we can have unlimited energy to do the work of the world" may be a real hope; then again, it may be a way of avoiding all the problems we confronted during the oil crisis. Giving the military-industrial complex a free hand to explore these fields may be asking for more than we bargained for.

Yet on the other hand, there is a tremendous pressure toward decentralization because increased access to these technologies is now affordable. The combination of increasing deregulation and decreasing costs has speeded new technologies into the marketplace. The authors of the book plugged into a Dialog computer at Stanford (Dialog is a huge database established by

Lockheed) and for \$60.00 per hour had the machine do the research and provide the printed abstracts of 199 different articles. Their total cost: \$19.90. Another person explained how he punched in the words "floor" and "squeaky" to get the abstracts of every article printed since 1967 on how to fix squeaky floors—his house has never been the same.

Low-power television, large

IN THESE TIMES MARCH 11-17, 1981 13 cable systems, direct broadcast satellites, subscription television, videodisc machines and multi-point distribution systems have all led to greater diversity and ownership of the media. Libraries are networking together to increase speed and accessibility of information. Competition in the phone industry has brought us more extensive services while new developments lower costs. Will these opportunities fundamentally change our condition or will they be similar to the C.B. radio craze—leaving us with nothing more revolutionary than a small group of users talking among themselves? That question is the reason the *Survival Manual* came into existence.

To what extent can we use and control these new technologies and to what extent will they use and control us? While invasion of privacy has never been easier, neither has access to the kind of information that we, as individuals, can now plug into. Will 1984 arrive on schedule or will society create machines that will be able to do all the work no one wanted to do anyway? Will corporate ownership of the machines be a problem or will increasingly wide distribution of information systems remove the problem of having major corporations conduct research and development in this area? If information is power, then information deprivation is impotence.

The question is not whether these new technologies are good or bad—it's already too late for that. But given the trends, what is the best way to deal with technological development? Clearly, one of the first steps is to be able to speak the language of its designers. To take part intelligently in that process we need to understand its implications. Every time we ooh and ahh about the wonders of the new machines and the benefits that they bring into our lives, we must step back and seriously examine all of the issues.

The *Survival Manual* doesn't answer all the questions it asks. That it raises them is what makes the book a must. As long as our actions are reactions, we are powerless. When we begin to grasp the meaning of our potential future, we begin shaping our actual future.

Dia Michels works for a consulting firm in Washington, D.C., that specializes in long-range planning.

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## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT

## FILM

## Troubles visit Harlem



Brown Bohrer, Sterling Po

Two girls growing up in turn-of-the-century Harlem.

By Cindy Colter

In the 1920s Harlem emerged as a distinct community. James Weldon Johnson, a leading black intellectual of the time, wrote, "In the makeup of New York, Harlem is not merely a Negro colony or community, it is a city within a city, the great-

est Negro city in the world. It is not a slum or a fringe, it is located in the heart of Manhattan and occupies one of the most beautiful and healthful sections of the city." During this time Harlem was a center of black culture and pride. It is this spirit that William Miles captured in the PBS documentary *I Remember Harlem*. Miles interviewed

community residents, old-time entertainers and journalists to portray the community that gave creative nourishment to figures such as John Coltrane, Billy Holiday, Louis Armstrong, Thelonius Monk, Adam Clayton Powell, Jackie Robinson and Malcolm X. The list is long and the characters diverse. The traditions of bebop, the blues, tap

dancing and jazz reverberated throughout the city, the nation and the world. Black singer Nina Simone, when asked what jazz meant to Harlem, responded, "Jazz lets black people know, every time they hear it, they have their hands on the pulse of life."

Despite the richness of Harlem's black heritage, another more infamous side exists. Miles provides a quick glimpse into problems that have plagued Harlem. He shows film clips of Harlem's 1943 and 1964 riots, which were set off by racial incidents involving white policemen and the black community. And he interviews Gordon Parks, who did a story on the street gangs that were so prevalent in the '40s and '50s. Miles concludes his documentary with a look at the contemporary period, 1965-1980, at the Black Power Movement and at plans for urban renewal. Miles looks at mass rallies organized by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) and SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), the humorous yet provocative speeches and stories of Malcolm X, and marches led by Martin Luther King. We hear shouts of protest and local leaders' plans for change, but see no lasting effects. During the '70s, a new tactic is employed, under the leadership of people like James Dowdy, president of the Harlem Commonwealth Council, that calls for the economic redevelopment of the community. While Dowdy points to the new sleek State Building on 125th Street as a sign of progress, it is unclear what his vision

of progress will mean for the community. Miles ends the documentary ambiguously, "Is Harlem coming or going? Well, Harlem was here before us and it seems that it will remain after we are gone."

This leads one to imagine that Harlem is like a willow bending in the wind. But Harlem has not had a passive history. It fought hard to establish itself and resist the problems imposed upon it. After watching *I Remember Harlem*, several questions remain unanswered: How did Central Harlem become a black community? How was it transformed from an elegant suburb with lovely boulevards for leisurely strolls to a drug-infested, crime-ridden neighborhood? What do the current urban renewal projects mean for the people of the community?

## The move north.

The emergence of black urban communities in the U.S. began with the "Great Migration," in 1890-1920, when blacks from the South migrated to Northern industrial centers. This migration was prompted by transformations in the agricultural process and the demands placed on Northern industry by World War I.

Before 1900 the small urban black population in the North was clustered on the fringes of big cities. In New York blacks lived in the Five Points area, the current site of City Hall, and a bit further northwest in Greenwich Village. As their numbers grew and the city expanded they were

Continued on facing page

## Torture of Mothers probes roots of Harlem riot

By Clyde Taylor

One spring afternoon in 1964, a group of Harlem kids returning from school knocked a crate of oranges off a fruit stand. The oranges bounced across the pavement, and the kids made a ballgame out of chasing and collecting them. Several squad cars soon arrived on the scene and the police pitched into the kids, clubbing them. An adult black man protested this excessive force and was bashed; he later lost his eyesight. The six teenagers were taken to the station and, according to their testimony, beaten all night by cops wearing sweatshirts. "They got so tired of beating us, they just started spitting on us," said one youth.

Released from jail, the boys were harassed daily by cops. They were stopped and searched for evidence of other offenses. During this time a woman was stabbed to death in a robbery of a Harlem second-hand store. The police arrested and charged the six young men taken in the "fruit riot" with robbery and murder, even though they were all someplace else at the time.

One lawyer was appointed for all the youths. He prevented them from securing other lawyers. All six were convicted and sent to prison. In 1972, after eight years fighting in the courts, five of the young men were released. The sixth, Robert Rice, remained in prison: a confession had been beaten out of him. His case is now with the U.S. Supreme Court.

This story has been re-enacted in the new documentary film by Woodie King Jr., *The Torture of Mothers*, which is based on Truman Nelson's book of the same name. The film effectively portrays the powerlessness and fear of the working-class mothers of the teenagers. Yet the dominant

tone of the film is restrained and naturalistic, and focuses on the mothers who are unable to comprehend why the legal system should crack down blindly on their sons. By contrast, Paul Carter Harrison's play about the same case, *Tabernacle*, is pivotal in recent black drama for its use of ritual and theatrical symbolism.

The tape recorder provides the point of view for the film. The dialogue is recreated from tapes made at the time. The tape recorder enables the audience to take in what the families, neighbors and social workers say as they try to understand what has happened at a community meeting. "The mothers of Harlem stand accused of carrying the

very seed of murder within their wombs," says one social worker. Memorably, one mother, framed by bars, is recorded talking to her incarcerated son. In another scene, nearly a score of white-helmeted police storm into one mother's apartment, looking for one of the youths. The film understates this event: 45 policemen actually stormed the apartment.

The case received a lot of publicity. Kenneth Clark, well-known as the psychologist in the Supreme Court case overturning school segregation, attacked this legal oppression in a press conference. Conrad Lynn, famed legal crusader, took up the appeal for the boys.

What was the motive of the

police over-reaction? Were the police under orders to get tough against crime while the city hosted the World's Fair that summer?

When on July 16, 1964, police shot a black youth, the people of Harlem, already angered by the "fruit riot" and its aftermath, exploded in anger. The Harlem riots marked the first of the epidemic of "race riots of the '60s," the heaviest domestic violence of the decade.

Woodie King, director of the Henry Street Playhouse on the Lower East Side and producer of

*For Colored Girls Who've Considered Suicide*, aims to document black political and cultural realities of the recent past. In *The Torture of Mothers* he has also made a powerful closeup documentary on police brutality. He is now preparing a film on the doo-wah music of the '50s and '60s.

*The Torture of Mothers* is distributed by Woodie King Associates, 417 Convent Ave., New York, N.Y. 10031.

Clyde Taylor writes about black cinema.

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## CHICAGO, IL

## March 14

Meet Donald Freed, author of *China Card and Death* in Washington. Saturday, from 1-4 p.m. at Guild Books & Periodicals, 1118 W. Armitage (1½ blocks west of the Armitage stop on the Ravenswood El). Call (312) 525-3667 for more information.

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## March 21-22

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## March 15

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ma Fain Pratt, Sarah Lawrence College, will speak in honor of International Women's Day. At 2:30 at Atran Jewish Culture House, 25 East 78th St., Manhattan. Sponsored by Jewish Socialist Youth Bund. \$1 donation.

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## March 21-22

A conference on Urban Organizing: Socialist Perspectives on Housing, Employment, Fiscal Crisis, Building Multi-Racial Coalitions. Plenary Speakers include Roberta Lynch, Stanley Aronowitz, Jay Grune, Chester Hartman, and David Harvey. Workshops follow each speaker. Costs range from \$5 to \$10. Sponsored by the New American Movement. For brochures and registration information, write: P.O. Box 7213, Baltimore, MD 21218.

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Continued from facing page  
forced north to the "Tenderloin" between 20th and 53rd streets and "San Juan" neighborhood between 60th and 64th streets along Tenth and Eleventh Avenues.

By 1880 Manhattan's population had grown to over a million. Harlem, a rural village north of 110th Street, was transformed into Manhattan's first upper- and upper-middle class residential suburb. In 1891 the extension of an elevated railroad to 127th Street sent property values soaring. Rapid building and wild speculation continuing until 1904-05 caused a glut of high rent apartments. Vacancies caused prices to fall and banks halted new construction and stopped making building loans. The collapse of the housing market made it possible for blacks to move into this area and for a time enjoy superior housing. The recession of 1904 lowered the desirability of the neighborhood for Manhattan's white population. Realtors continued to make high profits by charging high rents and neglecting building maintenance. Black households typically paid two to five dollars more in monthly rents than other ethnic groups. By 1923, 73,000 people, two-thirds of

Manhattan's black population, had migrated uptown. The concentration of blacks in Harlem created the first significant black urban community. Harlem became a showcase, a magnet for black people in the North.

For the white community, this new ghetto was an ideal way to house and control black labor. Leading black intellectual Carter Woodson summed it up: "The aim was to debase all Negroes to the status of menial labor in conformity with the contention of the South that slavery is the normal condition for the blacks." Hedged in by union restrictions and racial antagonism, blacks usually found employment in fringe jobs: janitors, elevator operators, general laborers, longshoremen, domestics and servants. While the eventual decay of the environment reinforced the social position of blacks, it created a vibrant culture, not a docile community of labor.

Harlem's transformation began in the mid-'20s, with the beginning of the depression. Rents sky-rocketed, housing construction tapered off, in-migration continued and wages remained extremely low. Housing maintenance deteriorated, flats were subdivided and unemployment increased. The Depression struck

Harlem hard.

It was at this time that drug trafficking in Harlem rose significantly. The film leaves the impression that drugs were just another evolutionary development and therefore a weakness of the community. But the drug business benefited from a legal structure that either chose to ignore or profited from the trade.

On a hot summer day in July 1964 Harlem residents, tired of job and housing discrimination, economic neglect and police brutality, rioted. The words of Malcolm X caught on quickly: "The white man wants black men to stay immoral, unclean and ignorant. As long as we stay in these conditions we will keep on begging him and he will control us. We never can win freedom and justice and equality until we do it for ourselves."

The government initiated the anti-poverty programs as a concession to the black movement and the white business community began to dress its storefront windows on 125th Street with black employees. However, the government never pledged more than five years' worth of support to any program. One local resident commenting on the anti-poverty programs said, "How can one plan any program when

you have to go from year to year begging for funding and even then you are uncertain on the amount you will be allotted?"

During the '70s, corporations and government used the fiscal crisis to begin a counter-offensive against Harlem. "The business of government in the '70s will be to pay for the decisions of the '60s," wrote Richard Ravitch, architect of the rescue operation of New York's Development Corporation.

Faced with the threat of default and bankruptcy, New York City transferred power into corporate hands. In June 1975 the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) was formed under the leadership of Felix Rohatyn (general partner in the prestigious brokerage firm of Lazard Freres). In September 1975 the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) assumed complete control over New York City's finances. Since the late 1950s the city had overextended its credit. As revenues declined and expenditures increased, the banks threatened to leave New York unless the city could once again make available city-assisted development such as that of the World Trade Center.

The result of corporate intervention in New York City's af-

airs for Harlem is urban renewal. The last 10 years of land speculation are beginning to pay off as property values and profits begin to soar. The city is planning to sell 200-400 brownstones that it owns, which will go on the market for no less than \$80,000 to \$100,000 each. This new wave of urban home ownership is enticing the higher-paid white collar tax base back into the city and forcing the low-income groups out. Some middle-class Harlem residents have been able to secure good housing in the new high-rises that have gone up in the past decade. Other young professionals have saved their dollars to buy into cooperative apartments or brownstones. Harlem today is becoming very much like the Harlem of the turn of the century. Along 110th Street the glass from the street has been removed and the buildings scrubbed clean. Few of the people in Harlem will be able to afford the luxury apartments that come with the promise of an unobstructed park view. But will the new Harlem, like the old one, provide the inspiration for a Billy Holiday, Malcolm X or Langston Hughes? ■  
Cindy Colter is currently a graduate student in Binghamton, N.Y.

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# CHEAP THRILLS

Albee makes  
Nabokov's cruel obsession  
a tawdry play.

By Evelyn Reilly

**L**olita is a very beautiful novel about sex, love, art and cruelty. Humbert Humbert, a man in his late thirties, marries a widow solely to gain access to her daughter Lolita, a girl of 12 whose ambiguous innocence and physical grace exactly conform to his own particular sexual obsession. Humbert dreams of doing away with the girl's mother, fate complies, and he carries off his treasure. A grim situation for all concerned, but written with the happiness, the compassion for human weakness, and the ecstatic sensuality that make novels by Nabokov masterpieces.

The difficulties of transposing this novel to the stage are formidable. In a medium that requires that all gestures be large, every dancing beam on a downy limb has to be revealed through dialogue. The abundant and explicit sex, described by Nabokov without recourse to four-letter words or clinical terminology, somehow has to remain both explicit and graceful. Finally, a good half of the story concerns a drive across the United States in which a string of motels, milkshakes, juke boxes and the proper nouns of American life are transformed into aesthetic phenomena, but this is hardly adaptable to the recalcitrant scene-by-scene rhythm of a play.

I expected Edward Albee's adaptation of Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita*, which

opened at the Wilbur in Boston, to be a different sort of *Lolita*, but didn't expect that this graceful quick novel would be made into so dull and flat a play. The story has been updated, so Humbert and his gentleman friend can talk of ejaculation and Lolita of fucking. We almost see the act, but for the man who steps in and lowers a white curtain over the act. By doing so he introduces the very air of coy prurience that Nabokov so successfully avoided. The story gains nothing by its new 15 years or so. If anything, our bleak sexual vocabulary in the mouth of the delinquent darling is a drag on its buoyant sensuality. There has to be some way to handle the sexual scenes without these inane curtains coming down. In act one Donald Sutherland (Humbert Humbert) and Blanche Baker (Lolita) demonstrate that they can pull it off marvelously when Humbert makes a quick run for orgasm with startled Lolita on his jiggling lap. It's gentle, silly and explicit, exactly the tone that should have been maintained throughout the play.

Albee has added a new character to the story. The incarnation of authorial playfulness, this Certain Gentleman (Ian Richardson) is also Humbert's urbane conscience. As the manipulator of scenes—he steps in at points to halt the action and give the plot “a twist”—he gives to the play some of the flavor of a Nabokov novel that is always at pains

to remind the reader that a novel is a highly artificial world of words on paper. This probably explains the panels that serve as scenery, covered with the opening sentences of the book. I suspect they are meant to insist upon this *Lolita*-as-text attitude, but they have the bizarre effect of making Albee's *Lolita* seem a bit uncomfortable about having become a play.

As Humbert's conscience, the Certain Gentleman is much worse. It is his job to pull down the white curtain over the juicy bits, which he does with a patronizing smirk. He calls Humbert a dirty old man, jabs him in the ribs saying “How was she, eh?” and quickly becomes an annoying bore. The whole device is baffling, since Humbert already has a conscience in the character of Quilty. Quilty is Humbert's rival, but also his partner in pedophilia, his insidious shadow, and a master of disguise. The fun of this is ruined since it is also the Certain Gentleman's job to tell us to watch out for this character in case we are so dull as to miss the point. But Sutherland's Humbert is so unalterably cute and giddily in love that he never even suspects that Quilty is following him.

*Lolita* lacks emotional tension. Humbert commits murder blithely, when there should be a trace of compulsion. When he whooshes Lolita away from camp we should, for a split second, feel just a bit sick at his cruelty,

but this goes by perfunctorily. Quilty has not been done away with, but the part has been reduced to that of a mildly funny buffoon who inexplicably is Lolita's true love after all. (In the book we are told that he makes her feel “artistic.”) The part of Lolita's mother, played by Shirley Stoler, has been stripped of its value as a sexually mature version of Lolita, repulsive to Humbert, but not necessarily to other men, and thus illustrative of Humbert's poor fate—nymphets grow up. Instead Charlotte Haze has been made the vulgar and repulsive brunt of banal jokes. Stoler doesn't help the situation by making the mistake of playing an unsuitable role without subtlety. The performances of the rest of the cast are reasonable, with Clive Revill as Quilty, Ian Richardson as the Certain Gentleman, and Marcella Lowery as the maid, Louise. Sutherland has a fine moment comparing the anticipation of Lolita's charms to the delectation of a bowl of fine soup, but the production so lacks the gentle tug of tragedy inherent in the story and so continually falls into bland comedy that the actors have slight opportunity to demonstrate their ability.

And America? Where's the butterfly-strewn vision of America out the window of a motor vehicle of the '50s? Lost.

Evelyn Reilly is a freelance writer in Boston.